THEORETICAL AND DISCUSSION JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

DECEMBER 1960

Marxism Today

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

J. D. BERNAL — COMMUNITY OF FEAR

IDRIS COX — NIGERIA'S PATH TO INDEPENDENCE

A. L. MORTON — RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

JOHN PRIME — PAPERBACKS—A REVOLUTION IN PRINTING?

DISCUSSION:

MICHAEL A. COHEN — ON CULTURE AND SOCIALISM

LES BURT — ON THE FIGHT AGAINST DISMISSALS

IRWIN ROSS — ON HOW NEW IS THE "NEW LEFT"?

TOM DURKIN — ON THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE AND AFTER

Monthly 1/6

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marxism Today

Vol. 4 No. 12

CONTENTS

		page
	Editorial Comments	353
J. D. BERNAL	**Community of Fear**	357
	An examination of the facts recorded in a pamphlet with this title issued in the United States	
Idris COX	**Nigeria's Path to Independence**	362
	A study of the long battle of the Nigerian people for freedom	
A. L. MORTON	**Religion and Politics in the English Revolution**	367
	Discusses some of the religious forms in which the revolution found expression	
John PRIME	**Paperbacks—A Revolution in Printing?**	373
	Examines the economic basis and development of paperbacks	
DISCUSSION:		
Michael A. COHEN	**On Culture and Socialism** ...	376
Les BURT	**On the Fight Against Dismissals**	378
Irwin ROSS	**On How New is the "New Left"?**	380
Tom DURKIN	**On the Labour Party Conference and After**	382

Editor John Gollan

Assistant Editor
James Klugmann

Editorial Board
Professor J. D. Bernal
Emile Burns
Gabriel Carritt
Maurice Cornforth
Maurice Dobb
Jack Hendy
Arnold Kettle
John Lewis
Frank McKenna
John Mahon
Alan Morton
Frank Stanley
Professor George Thomson

Editorial correspondence
James Klugmann,
16 King Street, W.C.2.

Advertisements
Margaret Williamson,
above address.

Orders and Subscriptions
usual agents or
Central Books Ltd.,
37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C.1.

Subscription rates
Six issues 10s. 6d.
Twelve issues 21s.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Editorial Comments

MR. GUNNAR MYRDAL, the well-known Swedish economist, is one of those who believe that capitalism has now evolved into a "Welfare State", and that further nationalisation is quite unnecessary. Yet, in his recent book *Beyond the Welfare State* (*Duckworth*, 21*s*.) he admits quite a number of very significant flaws:

> "Our taxation [in Western 'Welfare States'] is advertised to be and is commonly believed to be steeply progressive, but by various devices the tax laws are permitting the rich to become richer, while they live well in spite of paying most of their 'incomes' in taxes. In Britain and some other countries where there are no taxes on capital gains, and where generous means are provided for avoiding income tax by giving away the wealth in advance of one's death, the situation is almost scandalous, though it is largely concealed from workers and salaried people, who are rarely pressed by taxation and social insurance payments".

There is, incidentally, interesting independent British confirmation of Mr. Myrdal's statements. Mr. J. C. R. Dow states that: "post-war reliance on high marginal tax-rates for the rich has given rise to widespread avoidance within the law, but nonetheless effective. The yield of surtax has been much less than might have been expected from pre-war figures. At the same time there has been a large growth of consumer-type expenditure by businesses" (*Westminster Bank Review*, August 1960). In a footnote Mr. Dow explains that "between 1938 and 1953 national income rose nearly three-fold while the yield on surtax, despite a 46 per cent increase in rates, was little more than doubled". If motor cars are included in consumption-type expenditure by businesses this, in Mr. Dow's opinion, "will amount to several hundred million pounds."

Another impediment to democracy in the "welfare state" is thus characterised by Mr. Myrdal:

> "The rich are usually less free to vote with the dollar, by making financial contributions to political parties that defend their interests. By a strange extension of the principle of the secret ballot they are usually allowed to keep their contributions anonymous. They are indeed often in a position to deduct them from the income on which they are taxable, so that this privately directed buying of influence, is actually subsidised to a large extent by the state itself."

So, according to Mr. Myrdal, the progress of the "welfare state" is being resisted by "the strongest vested interests of a crafty power oligarchy and the most fierce mobilisation of the resources of the communications industry." [i.e. press, radio, television and advertising]. It looks as if we need the appropriate kind of nationalisation to get this "crafty oligarchy" off our back altogether.

Marx à la Morrison

Lord Morrison (né Herbert) tells us in his recent autobiography that he read *Capital* in his youth. If he had continued to read it in his middle and old age it might have saved him from penning nonsense like the following:

> "Soon after trams were electrified buses went over from horse-traction to petrol, involving considerable capital expenditure. *The effects of this change on the minds of the bus-drivers themselves tends to confirm the materialist conception of history expounded by Karl Marx.*
>
> "The old horse-driver in his front seat would chat and joke with City clerks and stockbrokers —the seats near him being a privileged place. *He rode in distinguished company.* From what I learned in my youth I would say that the bulk of the horse-drivers voted Tory. With the motor-bus driver it was different. His vehicle was a new-fangled device, appealing to the young and forward looking. There was a call for a sense of adventure. *The drivers were isolated from the passengers.* The bulk of the motor-bus drivers, *as a consequence of their different way of life,* voted Labour, and by the 1920's a few of them communist." [Our Italics —Editor].

This is Marxism à la Morrison. It is on the level with the theory that busmen voted Communist because the buses were painted red.

If mere changes in working conditions automatically made workers socialist or communist, how wonderful things would be! In the real world, however, socialist and communist political activity and education, closely linked with the class struggle, is always necessary.

Peaceful Competition

An interesting discussion on the future of economic competition between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R took place last October at a Conference of leading Soviet economists held at the Moscow University.

One report, submitted by the Economic Department of the Moscow University, estimated that the Soviet Union's industrial production in 1959 was about three-fifths of that of the U.S.A. It was calculated that the Soviet Union would catch up and surpass the U.S.A. in the produc-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of cement in 1965, of steel in 1967, of iron in 1968-9, of oil in 1972. By 1970 the proportion between the total industrial output of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. would be 100-72, and by that time the U.S.A. would also be behind the U.S.S.R. in *per capita* production.

Reports stressed that the U.S.S.R. had already achieved superiority over the U.S.A. both in the quality and the quantity of training of scientists, and that this superiority was likely to be enhanced over the next period ahead. Reports estimated too that between 1959-65 the number of engineers graduating from the U.S.A. would be about one-third of the number graduating in the Soviet Union.

Discussing the economic development of the whole system of socialist countries, Professor Nikolai Klimki considered that the average annual industrial increment of the Socialist system was today around 12½ per cent, and that such a rate of development could be expected to continue over the next years ahead. He considered that by 1965, the socalist countries would account for more than half of the world's industrial output.

Our "Neutral" B.B.C.

Seventy-seven years after the death of Marx a conspiracy of silence operates in Britain to conceal from the public the essential ideas of that great revolutionary. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the mass media; and the B.B.C., which likes to tell us that it is politically neutral, is certainly no exception. This "neutrality" is most often shown by excluding genuine Marxists from broadcasting. Or, if for some reason or other, the discussion of Marxism cannot be avoided, what could be more "neutral" than putting up either a professional anti-Marxist or someone who seems never to have studied it?

A few weeks ago one of the questions raised at the *Brains Trust* was to what extent is Marxism understood and believed in communist countries. Professor Ayer, whose logical thrusts at many forms of ideological idiocy are often refreshing, when asked what Marxism was, could do nothing better than to equate it with what he calls the famous Hegelian Triad of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Now, in the first place, could the professor tell us exactly *where* in his numerous works Hegel makes use of this famous triad? The answer, we fear, is nowhere. And where precisely does Marx enunciate and make use of this conception?

The Chairman, Norman Fisher, considered that since the whole population in communist countries was held down by terror, we could not know the answer to the question raised. Alan Bullock described Marxism as "Messianism", or a fanatical belief in miraculous salvation. Marghanita Laski agreed and likened Marxism to puritanism, condemning a sinful world, and preaching the gospel of changed hearts.

There was, despite confusion, complete agreement on one thing: Marxism was an absolutely rigid dogma. But equally, and simultaneously, it was an incredibly flexible policy with changes from place to place and time to time. Professor Ayer, in a moment of blinding revelation, made the great discovery—to achieve different ends Marxism uses different means.

And thus, on that note, the Brains Trust proceeded to the next question.

Common Sense

The new "Pelican"—*The Common Sense of Science*—by Dr. J. Bronowski, is to be welcomed as a popular introduction to the scientific outlook. True, the vigilant Marxist will discover in it a few lapses from strictly scientific-materialist phraseology—but these are venial sins compared with the outstanding virtue as a persuasive exposition of the scientific outlook.

But yet what could have been the book's greatest virtue turns out in the end to be its greatest defect. Dr. Bronowski sees science as coupled with the arts as means to man's better understanding of himself and of nature, and consequently of his power and ability to live well and satisfy his needs. In the concluding chapters he seeks to break the old and sterile idea that science merely tells us about "facts", whereas "values" are unconnected with science.

"I believe that science can create values," he writes, "and will create them precisely as literature does, by looking into human personality, by discovering what divides and what cements it.... Science will create value ... when it looks into man, when it explores what makes him man and not an animal, and what makes his societies human and not animal packs."

We could not agree more. We need scientifically to understand man and the laws of development of human society in order to find the way to live as befits human beings—that is the standpoint of communism. But, alas, whereas Dr. Bronowski's publishers have recently pioneered in the printing of four-letter words, there is one four-letter word which Dr. Bronowski still seems to think unprintable—and that is MARX. To read these concluding pages one would not know that Marx ever existed, let alone that he actually commenced and established the scientific ap-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proach to human affairs which Dr. Bronowski demands.

But had Dr. Bronowski followed up his conclusions, instead of running away from them, he would have come up against a proof which Lenin once propounded about science—"There can be no 'impartial' social science in a society based on class struggle". Dr. Bronowski writes of "common sense". It is only common sense, after all, to realise that in a society based on class struggle you can pursue social science only if you are prepared to recognise the class struggle and its consequences—otherwise you are following the path of apologetics rather than of science.

"*Social Vacuum*" *in the Congo*

According to the *Talking Points* folder (1960 No. 7) issued by the Labour Party, the root of the trouble in the Congo is the "social vacuum" there, or what this is intended to mean, an absence of a professional middle class. Such a professional middle class consists, it explains, of "people who have had university or professional education, often in Europe, and have filled traditional middle-class posts—civil service, the professions, managerial posts in commerce and industry, commissioned ranks in the armed forces".

Lumumba's National Congo Movement is described as "based on the lower middle class of the towns.... But this class is small and an insufficient social base for a governing political party". The folder does not consider the working class and the people, nor does it mention the fact that Lumumba's party, even without "a professional middle class", was able to develop an independent movement of the people to such a pitch that the Belgians had to give way; that his party was the largest in the elected parliament; and that the reason why his government was unable to function was Belgian armed intervention and intrigue, supported by United Nations intervention on Hammarskjoeld lines. Even a "professional middle class" would not have had a chance in these conditions.

The *Talking Points* also say that Hammarskjoeld "has tried to maintain order without committing the U.N. to the concept of either a centralised or federal Congolese government". It does not mention that the United Nations Resolution, adopted in response to an appeal by the Lumumba government against Belgian armed aggression, authorised the Secretary General "to provide the government with such military assistance as may be necessary"; but that the military "assistance" was, in fact, directed to prevent the government and elected parliament from functioning.

Thus the Labour Party authors of the folder find for all the problems of the Congo one universal cause, "the social vacuum". This is an old, old theory of those who have nothing but contempt for the working people, for the majority of society, for the "lower orders".

Priorities of Patronage

The Arts Council has issued its fifteenth Annual Report under this title, which emphasises the financial limitations that make priorities necessary. Fortunately the Council seems to have forgotten its "Few But Roses" attitude of the past: the Report is not an attempt to justify the low financial support given by the Government to the Arts, but rather an indictment of the Government and most Local Authorities for doing so little in this field. It points out that the Government's financial support for the Arts is "the lowest of its kind in Europe, even counting such small countries as Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland". Though the Council does not say so, Government support for the Arts in Britain will just not bear comparison with the support given in the Soviet Union or indeed in any of the socialist countries. In the German Democratic Republic, for example, with a population one-third the size of that of Britain, there are fifty-four provincial centres where opera is performed; in Britain, there are less than half that number.

There is, however, some improvement in the distribution of the Council's resources as between London and the provinces; allowing for tours from London, the aid given is roughly equally divided between London and outside.

As for assistance given by Local Authorities to the development of the Arts, the Council points out that although there has been some increase in grants in certain areas, many Local Authorities do little or nothing. It calculates that this support, over the whole country, amounts only to something like £250,000 a year, while if the provisions of the 1948 Act were made full use of, Local Authorities would be c o n t r i b u t i n g nearly £15,000,000—sixty times as much—to the encouragement of music, drama, opera and ballet.

The Report notes that TV companies are now making grants to aid the Arts and Sciences, amounting to about £150,000 this year. However helpful this may be in particular cases, the policy of depending on the monopolies for the development of the Arts is one with implications that are decidedly dangerous for the people.

The Report as a whole, however, is full of interest, and in many respects points to the kind of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

programme that a progressive government might well undertake.

More on Malthus

A correspondent, Jack Dunman, welcomes our attack on Malthusian moans in the last issue of *Marxism Today*. He agrees that there is no technical impossibility, or even difficulty, in feeding a rapidly growing world population, and that, therefore, the *real* problem is political. But he feels that our treatment was one-sided, and that the problem of improved diet is of concern not only to under-developed countries, but to all countries including Britain. In this connection he makes a number of interesting points.

Boyd Orr, in his remarkable book *Food, Health and Income,* published in 1936, showed that for full health, greatly increased consumption of many sorts of food was needed. The percentage increases in total consumption to bring everyone up to the minimum level for full health in Britain were: butter 15 per cent; eggs 18 per cent; fruit 25 per cent; vegetables (excluding potatoes) 25 per cent; meat 12 per cent. Considerably higher percentages would be necessary to reach the consumption level of the richest class.

It is remarkable, states our correspondent, that in 1958, after thirteen years of "the welfare state", consumption per head of the following items had increased on the 1934-38 average only very slightly: eggs 11 per cent; fruit 2 per cent; vegetables 3 per cent; meat 5 per cent. The following had *actually decreased*: butter 18 per cent; fish 13 per cent.

In using these figures the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food also supplied tables which purport to show that as regards total calories, animal protein, fat, carbohydrate, and certain minerals and vitamins, average per head consumption has increased, in most cases considerably. But even so, an analysis into income groups show certain categories still below the average of total protein and iron required for health.

Much more notice should be taken of these figures, which get very little prominence in the bourgeois press. They should be linked with the fight for the preservation and development of British agriculture which the Tories are continually trying to limit and restrict; for British agriculture is particularly suited to provide the foods most needed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Community of Fear

J. D. Bernal

THE publication of the small pamphlet, *Community of Fear,* by Harrison Brown and James Real, is an important event, not only on account of the surprising material it contains, but also because of its source. The pamphlet derives from the organisation, the "Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions", in California, and has behind it an impressive number of names of liberal thinkers and scientists in the United States, including Reinhold Niebuhr, the leading Protestant theologian of the United States, who has written the foreword; Robert M. Hutchins, formerly Principal of Chicago University, and Professor I. Rabi, the nuclear physicist.

It represents, therefore, the considered opinion of people who stand close to the Democratic Party machine, and the recent election of Senator Kennedy will enhance its importance.

The senior author himself, Harrison Brown, is already well known to the world of science and of liberal thought. Harrison Brown is a noted geochemist, responsible for some very exciting studies of the distribution of isotopes, leading to estimates not only of the age of the earth, but of the age of the elements themselves out of which the earth is built. He has also been very active in the group associated with world economic problems, and is one of the major authors in the book *The Next Hundred Years,* which attempts to give a quantitative picture of what science could do in a world at peace. He has also been very active in the Pugwash group. In all these respects, therefore, what he says must be taken seriously.

The pamphlet itself, appropriately coloured black, is short—a mere forty pages. But it is packed with explosive facts and judgments. It is, in fact, a condemnation of the whole attitude behind nuclear war, and particularly behind the arms race. The first half of the pamphlet is a description in concrete terms of what nuclear warfare would mean to the United States, and as an example, what would happen to Los Angeles, the great city of California, in which he was working, under the impact of one ten-megaton bomb. He begins by facing the successive attitudes of the military towards nuclear war. Now its first build-up, which led to the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, produced a wave of revulsion. But this revulsion was gradually worn down:

> "But the war had not been over long before military leaders had more or less adjusted themselves to the concept of atomic war. Far from being unthinkable, such a war, it was believed, could be fought and won. Soon the Bikini tests were held by the U.S. Navy. The Air Force came to believe that it had an ultimate in its hands, which it could use to impose a Pax Americana. Work was started on developing 'small' atomic weapons to be used by the army for tactical purposes.
>
> "With the advent of thermonuclear weapons the belief that war is unthinkable once again came to be widely held. Certainly, it was believed, war is *really* now too horrible to be fought again. An all-out nuclear war, it was said, could mean not only the death of our civilisation—it could mean the death of mankind itself" (p. 9).

He goes on to attack those who, despite this, still wish to go on with nuclear war.

> "Still more recently we are asked to consider that even all-out thermonuclear war is by no means unthinkable—provided it is not too all-out. Proponents of this view may believe that measures can be taken which would save the lives of many individuals in the event of a large-scale attack. It is argued that although such a war is horrible to contemplate, there could be a sufficiently large number of survivors, and a sufficiently large quantity of undamaged consumer and capital goods and raw materials, to permit the nation to rebuild its economy in a reasonable period of time—say ten years" (p. 9).

Here deeds came to speak more clearly than words. Since the war, the arms race has taken the centre of the stage in American life, technically, economically and politically.

> "As the technological competition continues, it seems clear that sometime in the mid-sixties ballistic missiles will form the bulwark of the striking forces of both the United States and the Soviet Union. Bases will become increasingly hard. Guidance will become more accurate. A variety of military satellites will emerge. Bombs, missiles, and satellites will become less expensive. But above all we can expect in the years ahead many more 'break-throughs' which will lead to a number of startling and unexpected military developments. Even less expensive and more efficient methods for the destruction of large segments of life and the products of human intelligence are almost certainly within our grasp" (p. 12).

Harrison Brown examines carefully the trend

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

towards nuclear stalemate, with missiles arrayed on both sides capable of destroying the major part of both populations and most of the neutral world as well. He realises that certain people accept this situation—the situation of mutual deterrence. But he wonders himself whether such a situation is likely to be stable.

> "In vew of the fact that the combination of technology and international politics is leading us rapidly to the development of relatively invulnerable retaliatory systems, it is important that we examine factors which affect their stability. Can they really be stable? If they can, then in effect technology will have eliminated large-scale war from the world scene. Or is such a system basically unstable? If it is, and if we follow this path to its end, it is likely that we will perish" (pp. 22-23).

The first danger that is seen to stability is that of the spread of nuclear military technology to other countries. He cites eight countries, capable economically of making hydrogen bombs, and he goes on to say that it is not at all unlikely that nuclear explosive devices will eventually enter into international commerce. The danger he sees from this is that:

> "The spread of nuclear military technology will greatly increase the complexity of deterrent systems. Thus, when China becomes a nuclear and missile power, or when we believe that she has become one, we must train our missiles upon the bases and cities of that country as well as upon those of the Soviet Union" (p. 25).

Accidental War

The next danger foreseen is that of accidental, or what they call "catalytic" war—that is, a war started from any one point and spreading like a chain reaction. There is a very interesting discussion on the degree to which it may be possible to control the outbreak of a nuclear war. But it is evident that he has very little hope that it can be done. The fear which he expresses is:

> "As the Russian military position becomes more clearly dominant in the next decade, and as increasing psychological pressure is brought to bear on the Western positions everywhere, the likelihood of desperate, erratic, unauthorised action by U.S. and Allied forces is much greater than the chance of similar breaches of discipline by the Soviets" (p. 27).

and

> "Thus, if things continue the way they are going, the possibility of a *coup* by the United States military is real. The general assumption that the American soldier is automatically responsive to his civilian masters might be rudely shaken were there a serious and clearly visible retreat on the world front by the American policy-makers. The same might be true in the event of a disarmament agreement which the military does not consider fool-proof."

This suggestion of a *coup* by the American military is the most surprising one contained in the article, and is backed up by a number of considerations, which appear later, as to the entrenched position of the military in American political life. Anyone who has had experience of the relatively undeveloped American higher military cadres in the second world war will realise how great this danger of total indiscipline, mixed and backed by political influence, can be.

The next section is devoted to a limited war, and here Brown and Real demolish the case that was built up by Kissinger some years ago for a possible limited war, by pointing out that the point of stopping is almost impossible to achieve.

> "Thus far, nuclear weapons have not been used by troops in war. However, there is every reason to expect that they will be used in a war in which ground forces are used, for we have built up our own forces around such weapons. As our forces are at present organised, it would be difficult for us to fight a limited ground war of any appreciable size without using nuclear weapons" (p. 29).
>
> "In any event, it is difficult to visualise techniques of truly stabilising limited wars in which nuclear weapons are used. Any limitations on size of explosive would be quite arbitrary and difficult to monitor. Although it is conceivable that a small nuclear war could be kept from escalating, the probability would be high that sooner or later it would turn into an all-out war" (p. 29).
>
> "If tactical nuclear weapons were to be outlawed in war, the situation would appear to be less unstable. Nevertheless, even in a war fought with conventional weapons, there would be a serious danger that it, too, would grow to the point where the retaliatory systems would be triggered. Further, although it is conceivable that nuclear weapons might be outlawed from use in the field, it would nevertheless be necessary for armies to prepare to fight with them—in other words, to prepare to fight two quite different types of war. Even were such weapons outlawed, the knowledge for manufacturing and using them would remain. There would, as a result, be serious danger that one side might attempt to put them into use, taking advantage of the unprepared state of the other side" (p. 30).

Responsibility of the Military

At this point the authors came to their central argument, the factors preventing agreement on

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arms control and disarmament, putting the blame fairly and squarely on the military circles responsible for the arms race.

> "On the basis of the considerations thus far discussed, it is amply clear that the world is in great danger for as long as the arms race continues and the giant retaliatory systems remain in place, ready for use. It would appear to be obvious that major steps must be taken aimed at eliminating the retaliatory systems and bringing the arms race under control. In other words, the situation warrants agreements between the nuclear powers aimed at instituting a considerable measure of disarmament with inspections and controls, slowing the rate of spread of nuclear military technology, and breaking the vicious research and development circle that helps to perpetuate the arms race. In spite of the overwhelming need for such agreements, however, there does not appear to be much chance that adequate steps will be taken in the near future" (pp. 30-31).
>
> "Following World War II, strong forces in our government, particularly in the scientific community, discouraged the establishment of a research development program aimed at producing megaton weapons. Many factors were involved in this attitude—some of them practical, others emotional and moral. There were others, however, who believed just as strongly that our lack of effort in this direction could be suicidal. What if the Russians were to develop such weapons first? Would they hesitate to make use of their new-found strategic advantage?" (p. 32).

The testing point of this theory of the development of ever newer and more powerful weapons is the question of the abolition of bomb tests. Here the authors point out how difficult this first step could be. One naturally gets the opposition of those who don't want any steps to be taken at all.

> "Most persons who view the arms race with alarm and feel that something can be done about it believe that nuclear test suspension with inspection and controls represents a reasonable first step which can lead to a more widely-based system of arms control and disarmament. It would stop nuclear weapons development at the present stage; it would establish a precedent for other arms control arrangements; it would slow the spread of nuclear military technology to other areas of the world.
>
> "Opponents of nuclear test suspension do so in part on the grounds that research and development in this area would effectively be halted (it is difficult to design new products and systems without testing them). There are many new areas which the research and development-minded persons would like to explore: new tactical weapons, anti-missile defense, communications jamming, the effects of tremendous explosions outside the earth's atmosphere, improved efficiency of megaton weapons so that the very largest could be carried by ICBMs" (pp. 32-33).

Here the authors touch on one of the essential points which have made any efforts to get agreement on this impossible.

> "Although the probability of detecting clandestine tests can never be increased to 100 per cent, it can be increased substantially given adequate research and development in this area. Thus far, however, the responsibility for research and development in the nuclear test detection area has been placed in the hands of those groups that are most opposed to test cessation: the Air Force and the Atomic Energy Commission" (p. 33).

Alliance of Military, Business and Science

The section that immediately follows deserves to be quoted in full, because it is the most outspoken exposure of the combination of military, science and business that exists in the United States, and prevents any discussion on disarmament.

> "The foregoing illustrates the effectiveness of the alliance, which is still young, between the scientist-technician on the one hand and the military on the other. Tens of thousands of scientists and technicians have devoted all of their professional lives to the invention and construction of weapons. A majority of those who went to work *after* World War II are convinced that weaponry is a way of life for themselves and expect the U.S.-Soviet contest to continue forever. Many of them are articulate and highly valued consultants in every walk of American life, from the Congressional committee to the P.T.A.
>
> "Although these men are not generally openly political, they are in every sense the paramilitary—civilian soldiers. They have spent most of their adult lives in the direct or secondary employment of one or another of the services, and their sympathy for and concurrence with their uniformed colleagues are often marked and open. Should a showdown between the military and the civilian sectors occur, this group could be relied upon to staunchly back the handlers of the weapons they have so devotedly evolved.
>
> "The military leaders themselves are quite naturally not enthusiastic for disarmament or for any steps that might curtail the freedom of action of the armed services. There is rather clearly a military elite emerging in the United States which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which wields enormous political as well as military power.

"A small but not negligible fraction of the $40 billion defense budget is invested judiciously each year in a well-conceived program of public and Congressional relations. As a result, the military lobby is now the strongest lobby in Washington. Were the State Department to negotiate successfully an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union and were the armed services united in their opposition to the agreement, the agreement would almost certainly be defeated by the Senate. There is little doubt that the armed services exert more control over Congress than that body exerts over the Defense Department. Indeed, the military elite is clearly in a position to assume actual political command over the U.S. striking forces if there are serious signs of 'weakness' in U.S. foreign relations.

"Among the deadly myths that tend to support the argument for the retention and expansion of the arms race, the least examined, but nonetheless powerful and inhibiting, are those revolving on our dependence on the war economy. The primary apprehension about the reduction of the weapons budget is based upon a single, simple statistic—the $40-50 billion defense budget is a 10-12 per cent segment of the gross national product. But, as Gerard Piel points out [Gerard Piel, "The Economics of Disarmament", in the *Bulletin* of the Atomic Scientists, April 1960] one must adjust to the "investment multiplier" to determine the real derivative economic activity generated and sustained by the weapons business. This arithmetical device suggests that between one-quarter and one-third of the economic activity of the nation as a whole is based upon the weapons race. The primary war equipage business supports a host of dependent enterprises which are nominally 'civilian' in nature" (p. 35).

"If the expenditure on weapons systems increases during the next five years at the same rate as it has during the last five, even allowing the 5 per cent annual GNP increase, the use of the Keynesian multiplier would indicate that close to 50 per cent of the total of U.S. production and business in 1965 may be directly or indirectly war goods and services.

"At what point will this kind of economic dependence become so crucial that it cannot be substantially reduced without grave harm to the basic economic structure? It may well be that the time has already come.

"The elements and conditions reinforcing the war economy are many. Real, justified fear of the mysterious Soviet juggernaut is held by most of the people in one way or another. Substantial disarmament now, or at any foreseeable time ahead, seems emotionally (and, therefore, practically) impossible. On the contrary, the psychology of fear promises to increase to the point where substantial personal economic sacrifices could be asked of the people—and given willingly, if the alternative parades as military vulnerability. Even a full-scale depression would undoubtedly be largely blamed on Soviet actions and pressures. It is conceivable that the public reaction would be similar to that displayed after Pearl Harbor. The butter is more likely to disappear than the guns" (pp. 35-36).

Even though the pamphlet may not be assured of an enormous distribution in the United States, the fact that these things have been stated in print by authorities which cannot be questioned or accused of pro-Soviet bias is of great importance in the general work for peace. Everybody can know now what many of us have long pointed out—precisely whom they are up against. It is clear that until this Unholy Alliance of business, science and military staffs is broken up by the people of the United States, our hopes for disarmament agreement are very slim indeed. The authors of the pamphlet, however, have not attempted to develop the positive side. They have stated the facts, and clearly wish them, in the first place, just to sink in. In fact, Dr. Niebuhr in his introduction points out that no hopeful solution is presented. This is a matter of, as he says, a "study which confines itself to a clear delineation of the magnitude of the problem and, by implication, to a criticism of presently proposed solutions which obscure the dimension of the problem".

What the Continued Arms Race Would Mean

The last part of the pamphlet takes up again on an even gloomier note the prospect of the continuation of the arms race, and its transition into actual nuclear war.

> "We have also seen that if the arms race continues at its present pace, the probability of war is very high. What, then, are our prospects? If war indeed approaches the inevitable, we should inquire into means for minimising its impact upon us. Can we defend ourselves? Can we recover?" (p. 36).

A sober estimate then follows of the tens of millions who would be killed even if the best kind of shelters that were practicable were provided.

> "In the light of our best estimates of current Soviet offensive capabilities, were an all-out attack to be made upon us today, recovery *might* be possible. Again, this question is debatable. Were the attack to take place in another five years, and were we to make no preparations, recovery would be extremely dubious. Presumably preparation could expe-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dite recovery from such an attack. For this reason we can expect great emphasis to be placed during the next few years on programs aimed at decreasing the vulnerability of our population and expediting post-attack recovery. The next phase of the arms race will almost certainly involve great emphasis upon the area of civilian defense" (p. 38).

And yet, the authors see in some form of civilian defence—the most expensive kind, with the deep shelter programme—the way in which the obsolescence of war can be prevented. They say clearly:

"Once the shelter program is underway, it will constitute a significant retreat from the idea of the obsolescence of war.

"Once the people are convinced that they can survive the present state of the art of killing, a broad and significant new habit pattern will have been introduced and accepted, one grotesquely different from any we have known for thousands of years—that of adjusting ourselves to the idea of living in holes. From that time onward it will be simple to adjust ourselves to living in *deeper* holes. . .

"Tens of thousands of years ago our Mousterian and Aurignacian ancestors lived in caves. The vast knowledge which we have accumulated during the intervening millenia will have brought us full cycle. The epic of man's journey upward into the light will have ended."

All this is very relevant to our attitude towards Civil Defence in this country. And yet, in the final analysis, Harrison Brown and Real come down to the question of people's belief and action.

"In the meantime, however, war might not be obsolete, because people *might* believe that wars can be fought without fantastic danger. In other words, people might believe the consequences of war to be less terrible than the consequences of not being both able and willing to fight a war.

". . . In any event, it seems likely that continued use of the war system will involve the violent deaths of tens of millions to hundreds of millions of persons, coupled with the serious risk that economic recovery might not be possible. For as long as people and their governments are willing to take such risks—for as long as people and their governments continue to deposit confidence in violence as the *ultima ratio* of human disagreements—the war system will be the indispensable vehicle of resolution" (p. 40).

It may well strike us that the picture the authors have made in this pamphlet is too unrelieved, that it is just an imagined future, only too likely to be realised, of the consequences of an arms race which can only lead to this inevitable doom. But I think we should be extremely grateful to the authors for having set this out—especially for having put all this down particularly in an American setting, where it can be most useful. In the next few months we shall have, in every country in the world, to find popular expression of the revulsion from atomic war. With that must come the realisation that goes with it, that atomic war really touches all forms of war; that the possibility of limiting wars is very slight; and that we shall have to find a way of altering the economic pressures that are leading to the arms race and its inevitable consequence.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nigeria's Path to Independence

Idris Cox

DURING the celebrations of Nigerian independence on October 1st, both British and Nigerian leaders indulged in a loud chorus of praise for the path of "peaceful co-operation" by which they claim this had been achieved. Two days before Nigerian independence Mr. Macmillan spoke at the General Assembly of the United Nations, and, referring to the former British colonies which had won their independence, declared:

> "Those of us who have helped them forward to nationhood feel that we too have the right to feel proud. For we have been working with the people of these countries, to help them to realise their aspirations for peace, independence, prosperity, and individual freedom" (29.9.60).

The Federal Premier of Nigeria (Alhaji Sir Abubukar Tafawa Balewa) spoke warmly on Independence Day, of the good relations between Britain and Nigeria, who had been "partners and always good friends". Dr. M. Okpara (who succeeded Dr. Azikwe as Premier in the Eastern Region) repeated a phrase used by Zik himself that Nigeria had been handed independence "on a golden platter". And Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto (who is Premier of the Northern Region) had already assured Mr. Macmillan last January that: "Never had a people progressed so smoothly and so quickly from dependence to independence."

Chief Awolowo, leader of the Action Group, has testified that "Britain may be justly proud of its record in Nigeria", giving the assurance: "We are nationalists. But we are not extremists. We have journeyed to the eve of independence in peace".

Determined to join this chorus of praise by Nigeria's three main political leaders for the generous "gift" of Nigerian political independence handed out by the kind Tory Government, James Callaghan (Labour's Shadow Colonial Secretary), speaking at the Scarborough Conference, described Nigeria as ". . . a great state where thirty million people moved quickly, purposefully and without a ripple to self-government."

From all these declarations one could hardly believe that the Nigerian peoples themselves had done anything to win their political independence. Yet, the national movement was growing in Nigeria for many decades, long before it was developed in other African countries. The conception of self-government was expressed in the Lagos *Times* as early as March 1881, in these words:

> "The present order of things will not last for ever. The time will come when the British colonies on the west coast will be left to regulate their own internal and external affairs."

Long Battle for Freedom

This prophecy was made eighty years ago, but it took a long time to come! Nigeria was not "left to regulate" its "own internal and external affairs". Colonial wars were waged after 1881 to complete the British conquest of those territories now known as the Federation of Nigeria. They went on for nearly forty years, even after the whole of Nigeria was brought in 1914 under one British administration. The military victories paved the way for the speeding up of the economic exploitation of Nigeria, with the key ownership and control of British overseas monopoly firms (as they still are today) and the expansion of trade in the hands of British concerns.

In 1920 was formed the National Congress of West Africa by J. E. Casely-Hayford, famous lawyer and journalist, and I.T.A. Wallace Johnson, outstanding pioneer of national freedom in West Africa. Then came the formation of the Nigerian National Democratic Party in 1922 by Herbert Macaulay, father of Nigerian nationalism. This created a fruitful soil for a continuous crop of progressive and youth movements for fourteen years after 1923, culminating with the Nigeria Youth Movement in 1937, which declared that:

> "The principal aim of the National Youth Movement is the development of a united nation out of the agglomeration of the peoples who inhabit Nigeria."

The biggest step forward was the creation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) in August 1944, founded by Herbert Macaulay and Dr. Azikwe. The next ten years was a decade of sharp struggles—a successful general strike in 1945, a nation-wide campaign in 1946-7 against an imposed British constitution, a national crusade in 1949 against the shooting of Enugu coal miners by orders of a British officer, a new constitutional breakdown in 1951, the crisis which arose with the British Lieutenant-Governor dissolving the Eastern Assembly in 1953, and then a succession of constitutional conferences in London during the past seven years.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These are but a summary of the main episodes of the variety of forms which the national struggle has taken in Nigeria in the past twenty years. True, the actual *achievement* of Nigerian political independence in 1960 was relatively peaceful and constitutional, but *only because past Nigerian struggles had made it clear to the British ruling class that there was no alternative but to concede independence.*

Nor was Nigerian independence something that was suddenly decided. As early as 1957 regional self-government was achieved in the eastern and western regions of Nigeria, and in the northern region in March 1959. Nigerian independence was something of a piece-meal business, and the October 1st celebrations were, in fact, almost an anti-climax compared with the joyous celebrations at the time of Ghana independence in March 1957.

Divide and Rule

The skilful use of the divide-and-rule strategy of British imperialism not only succeeded in delaying Nigerian independence, but also in winning the willing co-operation of the Nigerian political leaders in varying degrees. The end product of this long process is a Nigerian coalition government in which the main partner is a conservative party dominated still by feudal interests, and which the British ruling class hope to rely upon.

How has it been possible to achieve this? The answer lies in the history of Nigeria, its unique pattern of 248 different languages, the varying stages of development from feudalism in the north to the growth of capitalism in the south, the destructive character of the regional system imposed by British rule, and the successful British strategy in exploiting this to divide the Nigerian peoples.

First of all, what is Nigeria? It is four times the size of Britain, with an official estimated population of thirty-five million—but more likely in the region of forty million. This is more than the total population of the remaining British colonial empire. From 1914 to 1946 it remained under a single British administration, with a Legislative Council from 1922 onwards for Southern Nigeria (covering what is now the eastern and western regions) but the north ruled directly by the British Governor. Of the forty-six members of the southern Legislative Council, only four were elected—three from Lagos (the capital) and one from Calabar.

Southern Nigeria was more advanced, economically and politically, than the north. Until 1944 the various progressive movements were largely confined to Lagos. From its formation in 1944 the N.C.N.C. strove to become a nation-wide movement. True, it was yet unable to dig deep roots in the north, but it held considerable sway throughout the south, which now includes the eastern and western regions.

Faced with this prospect of progressive ideas spreading throughout Nigeria and uniting its peoples, the British Government struck a deadly blow to divide Nigeria. The first step was the enforcement of a new constitution by Sir Arthur Richards, the British Governor (now Lord Milverton) which divided the country into three separate and artificial regions—north, east, and west. These divisions were confirmed and consolidated in the succeeding Macpherson Constitution of 1951.

The northern region comprises 77 per cent of Nigeria's total area and nearly 66 per cent of its population. Of its twenty million people most of them are Moslems, of whom six million are Hausas, and the Fulanis over three-and-a-half million. Not only is it the most backward from the standpoint of economic development, it is also largely under the political domination of the Fulani emirs. These feudal rulers control the "native authorities" which form the administration in the north. Under British rule these native authorities were retained as instruments of "indirect rule", together with the promotion of the Fulani emirs into highly-paid civil servants.

Highest economic development is in the western region, which produces all Nigeria's cocoa—the most prosperous aspect of the country's economy. It has also a major share in Nigeria's trade. Most numerous of its peoples (seven million) are the Yorubas, who number 5,500,000. Its system of chieftaincy has deep roots in history, but its Yoruba Obas (chiefs) are traditional monarchs, whose power is subject to a council of the heads of the ruling chieftain families. Succession is not far from father to son, but amongst a group of chieftain families, and instead of being sole authority the Chief's position is that of Chief-in-Council. Though they have big influence they are closer to the people and cannot exercise dictatorial powers like the northern emirs. Some of them are big cocoa farmers and also closely associated with large-scale trade.

The east is the smallest region, but with a bigger population than the larger western region. Of its eight million peoples more than six million are Ibos. It has no feudal rulers, no traditional chiefs, nor any system of "native authorities". In this sense it was different from the other two regions. Under British rule, an attempt was made to institute paid "warrant chiefs" so as to create an "authority" over the people, but faced with strong resistance the attempt was a failure. The east did not have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the economic advantages of the west, and many Ibo people had to find an outlet in other regions. But besides coal for domestic use, in recent years oil production has started in this region, and in many respects there is now rapid economic development.

Rival Political Movements

Why is this background so important? Because it serves to explain how it was possible for the regional system, enforced in 1946, to exploit these differences. At that time, the N.C.N.C. was the only organised expression of the rising national movement, and it waged a nation-wide campaign against it, ending with a protest delegation to London in 1947 to the Labour Government. But the new Constitution was forced through, and so began the deliberate process of dividing the Nigerian peoples. With the breakdown of the Richards' Constitution in 1950, a new Constitution was put forward by Sir John Macpherson, the succeeding British Governor. The first nation-wide elections were held in 1951, based on an undemocratic system of electoral colleges, involving three stages in the east and west, and four or five stages in the north.

By now the regional system had taken root, and had given rise to the formation of political parties based on narrow regional interests. In the north it was the Northern Peoples Congress (N.P.C.) which came into being to protect the interests of the feudal emirs and big landlords. It was opposed by the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.) which champions the cause of the peasantry, workers, small farmers, and the progressive elements among the intelligentsia—and which is an ally of the N.C.N.C.

In the west, there was already formed in 1948, the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, a Yoruba cultural organisation. It was the spearhead in the formation of the Action Group, formed in 1951, which became the spokesman for distinct Yoruba interests, for the big cocoa-farmers and large-scale traders. It became a rival to the N.C.N.C., mainly in the west, but also extended its activity to the east. The N.C.N.C. leaders also expressed the opposition of the small but growing national bourgeoisie in the east (and the west) and Dr. Azikwe himself owns a chain of newspapers.

Though the leadership of the three main parties gave expression in the north to feudal interests, and in the east and west to the interests of a growing bourgeoisie, in their respective regions they won mass support among the Nigerian peoples.

In the 1951 election the N.P.C. won the overwhelming majority in the Northern Assembly, led by Alhaji Ahmadu Bello (the Sardauna of Sokoto), descendant of an outstanding feudal monarch. In the Eastern Assembly the N.C.N.C., led by Dr. Azikwe, won a sweeping majority. In the Western Assembly the Action Group, led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, won a small majority over the N.C.N.C. Though many changes have taken place in nine years, and in the scope of the franchise, these political parties still hold the majority of seats in their respective regional assemblies.

The 1951 elections results provided just the situation most desired in British ruling circles. It was the most favourable relation of forces in which to apply their strategy of divide and rule—and for seven years they applied it with a vengeance, until in 1958, they could no longer resist the united demands of all Nigerian political parties for independence in 1960.

It is too long a story to relate the twists and turns in the succession of Nigerian constitutional conferences (about six of them) from July 1953 to May 1960. Even at the first one there was a joint demand by the N.C.N.C. and Action Group for Nigerian self-government in 1956. The British excuse was that the north was not ready for this, but that regional self-government would be conceded in 1956 "for those regions which desired it", but only providing this "did not infringe upon the functions of the Federal Government".

However, the position in the Federal Assembly was changed after the 1954 elections. Though the N.P.C. won the biggest number of seats, the N.C.N.C. won the majority of seats in both east and west. As each region was entitled to three seats in the Council of Ministers (and one for Cameroons), this gave the N.C.N.C. six out of ten seats in the Council of Ministers, but a minority of seats in the Assembly.

This was certainly not anticipated by the British Government. So when one of the N.C.N.C. leaders later deserted and started a smear campaign against the alleged dishonest methods of Dr. Azikwe in relation to the affairs of the African Continental Bank, Mr. Lennox Boyd (then Colonial Secretary) lost no time in appointing a Commission of Inquiry. In its report there was a mild rebuke to Dr. Azikwe, who then organised new elections for the Eastern Assembly to test his position, and again won a big majority.

Unity for Independence

However, this meant postponing the 1956 London constitutional conference, as also regional self-government in the east and west. This came in 1957, and by that time the N.P.C. could not resist the rising pressure of the Nigerian peoples.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not only did the N.P.C. decide to plan for regional self-government in the north in March 1959, but also joined with the other two parties in the demand for Nigerian independence in April 1959.

At the 1957 conference, Lennox-Boyd was now faced with a united Nigerian demand for independence. The argument about the north "not being ready" was no longer valid. What saved the situation for Lennox-Boyd was the insistence of the Action Group on the creation of new regions *before* Nigerian independence was achieved, which would have created new barriers between peoples of the same language. This aroused keen conflicts between the political parties and provided a pretext for Lennox-Boyd to postpone, still further, the date for Nigerian independence. After this rebuff, the new all-Nigerian demand was for independence in April 1960, but the British Government still refused, though finally it was forced to concede independence on October 1st, 1960—conditional upon new Federal elections in December 1959.

In the Federal elections last December, the dice were loaded in favour of the Northern Peoples Congress. The north was allocated 172 seats (56 per cent) out of a total of 312. True, the northern area and population is more than 56 per cent of the whole of Nigeria, but women were denied the vote, so that the total *electors* in the north were in a minority. Moreover, the grip of the feudal emirs on the native authorities, and the respective measures against opposing parties, made it comparatively easy for the N.P.C. to get its majority in the north.

However, no single party won a majority for the whole of Nigeria. The N.P.C. gained 142 seats, N.C.N.C. and its ally N.E.P.U. 89 seats, and the Action Group 73 seats. The outcome was a coalition government of the N.P.C. and N.C.N.C. with the Action Group as the official Opposition, and Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa remaining Federal Prime minister.

Nigeria's Economy

Before the next elections in December 1964, many things can happen. Already there is a new political ferment growing within *all* the Nigerian political parties. It is realised that the new Nigeria is faced with big and serious problems, and it would not be surprising if new political forces (and parties) emerged before the next elections.

What are the main problems facing Nigeria? First, there is the problem of its backward economy. Though seven times larger than Ghana, it is a poorer country. Ghana's annual income per head is over £50 (low enough!) but Nigeria's is only £30. Nigeria's economy is still based mainly on agriculture and the production of primary products. In the north, main products are cotton and groundnuts, and tin in the central plateau; in the west it is cocoa mainly, but also rubber, and now the prospect of oil; in the east it is palm oil and kernels, coal on a modest scale, and now oil production will soon reach a million tons a year.

There is a considerable sprinkling of secondary industries in all three regions, but no heavy industry, engineering, or machine-producing plants. In essence, it is still a colonial economy in the grip of big European overseas firms—mainly British. Profits of United Africa Company (subsidiary of Unilever)) went up from £47 million in 1955 to £60 million in 1958. Shell Oil has invested £70 million in the east, and will expect to get big profits in return. British firms (twenty-one of them) own the tin mines, and are active in other spheres.

Economic investigations in 1949 estimated that 85 per cent of Nigerian trade was in the hands of European firms, 10 per cent Levantine and Asian firms, and only 5 per cent handled by African traders. It has long been the boast of the United Africa Company that it handles more than one-third of West Africa's total trade.

Economic Planning

Clearly, the first big task is to transform Nigeria's backward economy. This is not only a matter of economic planning, but also of foreign relations. It will possibly get small loans from Britain, and U.S. imperialism is likely to penetrate Nigeria on a bigger scale. Much will depend on its relations with other independent African states, but also on its willingness to enter into trading relations with the socialist countries. If Nigeria keeps to its old pattern of economy and trading relations its political independence will mean little in the lives of the ordinary people.

In recent years, there has been a steady decline in the volume of Nigeria's trade with Britain, and an upward trend with Japan and West Germany. Last year 35 per cent of Nigeria's exports went to the six countries of the European common market. The strong grip of British financial circles has by no means prevented the expansion of Nigerian trade elsewhere, and after political independence Nigeria's trade with countries *outside* the Commonwealth is likely to grow even more.

From the standpoint of economic planning there seems to be more emphasis on the regional plans than the five-year economic plan for the whole of Nigeria. The disproportion between the regions is likely to become more serious, for the capital investment plan in the west for 1960-61 is £16

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million, in the east only £6 million, and in the north £10 million. This means the west (only one-sixth the area and population) will spend as much as the other five-sixths. Indeed, in *The Times Supplement* (and elsewhere) on Independence Day it was the separate regions which had the biggest advertisements on the opportunities for foreign investments, and publicity on a Federal level was far in the background.

This regional separatism is also a serious obstacle in the struggle for uniform wage rates in Nigeria and for a united trade union movement. The daily minimum for labourers in government service in the west was recently raised from 5s. 6d. to 5s. 10d; in the east it is 5s.; and in the north round about 3s. No wonder the trade unions are in the forefront against the existing regional system.

Just as the British strategy of regionalism divided Nigeria so has the I.C.F.T.U. and the General Council of the British T.U.C. done its utmost to divide the Nigerian trade unions. From the formation of the Nigerian T.U.C. in 1942, there was an upward trend in strike struggles. This included the successful general strike in 1945 and the big strike victory of August 1950. But with the defeat of the mercantile workers' strike in December 1950, the government and the employers took the offensive against the workers and the trade unions, which to a large extent were broken up.

It was not until 1954 that the Nigerian trade unions regained their strength with the formation of the All-Nigerian Trade Union Federation (A.N.T.U.F.) led by Michael Imoudo (pioneer of Nigerian trade unionism) and Gogo Nzeribe, the General Secretary. But from the time of its formation, the I.C.F.T.U. and the General Council of the British T.U.C. were persistent in their efforts to prevent this growing unity. The A.N.T.U.F. entered into negotiations with the dissident elements and did succeed in reaching agreement with the formation of a united Nigerian T.U.C.

However, this only served to stimulate the I.C.F.T.U. and the General Council of the British T.U.C. into further disruptive activity, which ended in the formation of a rival trade union centre. So there are now two trade union centres in Nigeria—the *militant* Nigerian T.U.C. and the *reactionary* T.U.C. of Nigeria. The great majority of trade unionists are organised in the militant Nigerian T.U.C., but these divisions in the movement are still a serious obstacle to united action.

If the new Nigeria is to advance towards greater economic independence and higher living standards a united trade union movement is an essential step. And to achieve this, there needs to be in Britain, as well as in Nigeria, the strongest opposition to interference by the I.C.F.T.U. and the British T.U.C.—and every encouragement for the Nigerian trade unions to join with the proposed All-African Federation of Trade Unions.

Present Trends

What are the future prospects? The existing coalition government is an unstable alliance of the conservative N.P.C. and the more radical N.C.N.C., and the N.P.C. as the strongest partner is able to exercise the biggest influence on policy. Despite this, mass pressure is making itself felt. During the December elections it was only the N.C.N.C. which stood for a foreign policy of "non-alignment". The N.P.C. and the Action Group both advocated alliance with the West. Since then they have been won over to non-alignment, so that on this issue there is now agreement between the three parties.

Nigerian indignation against French atomic tests in the Sahara last year was so strong that the Federal Government (until recently) was obliged to apply a boycott of French goods. There is deep hatred of the "apartheid" system, so that the government is still enforcing a boycott of South African goods, and even threatens to vote for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. And Nigeria's first vote in the United Nations was for discussion of the admission of the People's Republic of China.

On all these issues the new Nigeria is certainly not in tune with British policy. On the other hand, a pledge was already given in May 1960 that: "Each country will afford the other assistance in mutual defence" and "staging facilities for aircraft in their respective territories". The Federal Premier denies this implies a British military base in Nigeria, but the proposed "staging facilities" may well be linked up with British military bases in the Southern Cameroons, Kenya, and Southern Rhodesia.

Already there is growing opposition to this military commitment—the precise terms of which are still to be defined in the Federal Assembly. So also there is strong criticism both by the N.C.N.C. and Action Group of the role of the United Nations in the Congo—in striking contrast to the praise given recently by the Federal Premier. An N.C.N.C. statement on September 15th declared "the present role of the United Nations in the appalling debacle in which the Republic of Congo is plunged" as "*poor, regrettable, and shockingly deplorable*" and that this "raised serious doubts in our minds as to whether the peoples of Africa can any longer expect justice from that organisation".

Also, in contrast to the N.P.C. both the Action Group and the N.C.N.C. (in varying degrees)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

declare that "democratic socialism" is their ultimate aim. In the immediate situation they favour a "mixed economy" and their programmes suffer from Social Democratic illusions. All the same, the fact that socialism is declared as their aim *does* serve to stimulate discussions on socialist theory and to awaken an interest in Marxist ideas.

There are already indications of Socialist discussion groups being formed in five big towns—Enugu and Port Harcourt in the east, Ibadan in the west, Kano in the north, and in Lagos, the capital. Among other objectives they have defined their aims as:

> To provide a rallying ground for the many socialist youths and intellectuals scattered all over the country.
>
> To spread socialist ideas and policies through lectures, discussion seminars, newspaper articles, pamphlets, etc.
>
> To encourage its members to canvass socialist ideas and policies *within* the various political parties and trade unions to which they may belong.

Earlier attempts were made to form progressive movements based on Marxist principles, first in 1952 with the Committee for People's Independence which later became transformed into the United Working People's Party. This went out of existence in 1956 due to two main reasons: (1) Severe repression and refusal of employment to "suspected Communists"; (2) a rigid sectarian attitude to the main political parties (even to the N.C.N.C.) which led to isolation from the national movement.

What is positive about these new developments is that the Socialist discussion groups include many well-known leaders in *all* the Nigerian political parties, providing a real basis for the growth of a united progressive movement for the whole of Nigeria.

Similar progressive trends were revealed at a National Youth Conference held in September, and it seems clear that socialist ideas are spreading among the Nigerian youth. If these new movements can bring together the best elements in all the existing political parties, it does appear that new opportunities will arise to create a real united movement which can become the spearhead for big advances in Nigeria.

Religion and Politics in the English Revolution

A. L. Morton

FEW things have made it more difficult for us to understand fully the English Revolution of the seventeenth century than the religious forms in which political issues were often, though of course not invariably, framed. This can lead us into all sorts of errors. Because the great religious controversies of the age may seem to us unreal and frequently grotesque, we may brush them aside altogether, may say, these people were hypocrites or self-deceivers, were fighting over absurdities, were ignorant fanatics who simply did not know what they were about. Or we may fall into the opposite error, like those nineteenth-century historians who coined the phrase "the Puritan Revolution": that is to say, we may take the religious issues merely at their face value and fail to see the political and class implications which lay beneath them. Often we manage to combine both sorts of errors into an inextricable confusion, and, either way, we *degrade* the Revolution and fail to see the grandeur and seriousness of the men who made it.

To avoid such errors involves a double process. First, we have to put ourselves into the minds of the men of the seventeenth century—of Cromwell and Milton, of Lilburne, Walwyn and Winstanley, and even of Abiezer Coppe. We have to understand that to them, religion was a reality and religious convictions were among the mainsprings of their lives. And then we have, as it were, to make the return journey, the journey from their world of religious conviction to our world of Marxist thought, and to see what were the objective political issues which their cultural and ideological circumstances led them to express in what seems to us an indirect and perverse way.

We have to remember in the first place that religion and the Church occupied a much larger part of everyone's life than it does even of Christian believers' today. The Catholic Church in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Middle Ages was an essential part of the structure of feudal society, reflecting its rigidly authoritarian and hierarchical character. It had a monopoly of the grace of God, which could only flow downward to man through the appointed channel of priesthood, and it claimed the right to interfere in practically everything everyone did from the cradle to the grave. And, of course, the Church, with its vast holdings of land and with a huge income from tithes and other dues, was a central part of the feudal economic structure.

The Legacy of the Reformation

As the crisis of feudalism developed with the growth of bourgeois productive relations, the Church came increasingly under pressure: it became less and less able to carry out the services to society which alone justified its immense wealth. The Reformation may be regarded as a split within the ruling classes, through which strong forces from below, hitherto repressed, were able to make their way to the surface. The Reformation, in England especially, was complex, coming from above as well as below, but it is essential to remember the extent to which it began, and remained, a great popular movement.

At first, this movement was arrested. The Church of England, as it was established in the early years of Elizabeth I, was, like the state, feudal in content while national in form. At the top it was subordinated to the state, in the localities to the nobility and gentry. Puritanism began as an attempt to complete the work of the Reformation by giving the Church a bourgeois-democratic character.

In the course of this struggle, which reached a climax under Archbishop Laud in the 1630's, political battles were joined around what on the surface appear as entirely theological questions. Till we realise this, the controversies of the time appear to us almost senseless. Why, we are tempted to ask, should shrewd and intelligent men have been so deeply concerned over the siting of an altar or the colour and shape of a parson's clothes? What was the real point of the disputes over the sacraments?

Priest and People

Yet in fact, men do not dispute over meaningless issues, nor did they do so in the seventeenth century. Take, for example, this question of the sacraments. Laud and the Government said that the altar should be placed at the east end of the chancel, raised above the nave, where the congregation sat, and fenced off with a railing. The people were to come to the rail and kneel to receive the sacrament from the hands of the priest. The Puritans demanded that there should be a plain table in the body of the church, around which the people could sit while the minister, as they insisted on calling him, should serve it to them there. It is fairly easy to see that what was in dispute was not just a theological issue but also a political issue, involving the question of church democracy, and that the battle around it was one against feudal privilege. It was less a matter of the relationship of God and man than of man and man. This becomes still plainer when we come to the beliefs of the more advanced sects. One, for example, declared:

> That Christians in receiving the Lord's Supper should receive with their hats on, with their heads covered, but the Ministers should administer it with their hats off, uncovered (Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena*, I. 29).

Bearing in mind the great symbolic significance then attached to the wearing and removing of hats it is obvious that this was to claim that the people were not on an equality with the clergy but were actually superior. Such a view appeared as wicked to the Presbyterian ministers as to the Anglican clergy.

Or take the question of the method by which the clergy were appointed. In the Anglican Church this had been done, as it still often is, by the big landowners. The Puritans said that they should be elected. And immediately a further dispute arose. The Presbyterians said the election should be by Elders, that is in practice, by the richer members of the congregation. The Independents, and more advanced sects, said, by the whole congregation. Each of these views represented definite stages of bourgeois democracy, but neither went beyond it, since in practice church membership was fairly rigorously restricted.

At a later stage the whole conception of the ministers as a special caste was challenged. The most advanced sects claimed that any man (or even woman) who felt the inner call should preach or fulfil any of the ministerial functions even if he was not, in Overton's words, "gifted with a black coat, an university dialect and the external advantages of Arts and Sciences" (*A Letter to Mr. Tho. Edwards*, 8). Walwyn, another Leveller leader, called the professional Ministers "a company of Mountebancks . . . and he knew no Scriptures for them to be Preachers more than other men, as he named Shoemakers, Cobblers, Weavers or Sopeboilers and the like . . . and that if their Tythes were taken from them, they would soon leave their trade; and said that the Apostles were tradesmen, and were not chargeable to the bretheren" (*Gangraena*, II. 27).

It was not by chance that men like Overton and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walwyn, who were to become leaders of the Levellers, the first fully democratic party in the Revolution, were also among the first and strongest advocates of the freedom of the pulpit, for in the seventeenth century the sermon was the main instrument for spreading not only religious, but also political and social ideas: there was no nonsense then about politics being out of place in the pulpit, and a free pulpit meant freedom for the propagation of democratic and revolutionary ideas. Walwyn himself, we are told, declared that the common man ought, not only to be allowed to preach, but to fill any office in the state. If all things were in common, as they should be,

> There will be no need of standing Officers or a Committe, no need of Judges, &c, but if any difference fall out, or any criminal fact be committed, take a Cobbler from his seat, or Butcher from his shop, or any other Tredesman that is an honest and just man, and let him hear the case, and determine the same, and then betake himself to his work again (*Walwin's Wiles.* In *Leveller Tracts*, ed. Haller and Davies. 303).

William Dell, a preacher with Leveller sympathies, declared that just as the Bishops used to say "No Bishop, No King", so "their successors in the Kingdome of *Antichrist* [the Presbyterian Ministers] still cry *No Minister, No Magistrate*" (William Haller, *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution*, 202).

From Election to Covenant

If we can see plainly the political significance of such matters of church organisation, it is not less plain in Puritan theology. The early Puritans were mostly Calvinists, stressing the doctrine of predestination which declared that a few people were chosen for salvation for no merit of their own, but solely because this was God's pleasure, while the majority, equally arbitrarily, were doomed before birth to eternal damnation. The elect were to be recognised by their piety, sobriety and, usually, by their material success, but these were the consequences, not causes, of their election. It is easy to see the strength and assurance that could come to a bourgeoisie in an age of bourgeois revolution from this sense of being a chosen people. In the early stages this created no difficulties: while the Puritans were still a minority the elect could be thought of as a virtuous bourgeoisie opposed to the reprobate feudal ruling class. The mass of the people hardly came into the picture one way or another.

But you cannot have a revolution without the masses, and when the bourgeoisie needed to enlist the masses the more rigid, orthodox and prosperous Calvinists—the Presbyterians as a political party—began to find themselves at a disadvantage as compared with those who were prepared to open the door of salvation more widely. The Independents, like Cromwell, while not abandoning the general principles of Calvinist determinism, laid less stress on the idea that the majority were necessarily damned. They preferred to encourage them to think that they, too, might well be among the elect.

And to the left of them a host of democratic sects arose, declaring that Christ had died for all mankind, that all might be saved, that the desire to be saved was enough. Rationalist humanism and mysticism, a strange but powerfully effective unity of opposites, combined to provide an opposition to Calvinist orthodoxy. They argued, variously, that all men are God's children, that God exists in man and therefore to damn man would be to damn Himself, that God is reason, and all men, by reason alone, can know God. "He that bade us try all things," wrote Walwyn, "and hold fast to that which was good, did suppose that men have faculties and abilities wherewithall to try all things, or else the counsell had been given in vain" (*The Compassionate Samaritaine*, 25). Therefore, he deduced, man should distrust the Ministers and trust his own reason.

The political implications are clear. The Presbyterians thought that the saints, the minority of the godly bourgeoisie should rule. Existing laws and institutions, as interpreted by themselves, were on the whole satisfactory as preserving a class structure guaranteeing the rights of property. It was a damnable error, declared the Rev. Thomas Edwards, that "instead of Legall Rights and the Laws and Customs of the nation, the Sectaries talk and plead for naturall Rights and Liberties" (*Gangraena* III, 16).

But suppose that *all* men are saints? What then becomes the claim of the elect to rule? The people have reason, they can understand the mysteries of God, how much more the lesser mysteries of statecraft. So, by the end of the Civil War, the Levellers and others can be seen passing from church democracy to political democracy, from claiming the brotherhood of the sons of God to claiming the birthright of freeborn Englishmen. The wheel has come round and we reach the concept of secular democracy. Yet the lessons learnt in the churches still help to determine the forms through which the political struggle is expressed. One example may be sufficient.

The most advanced sects had begun to form what they called "gathered churches". Setting aside the old parochial organisation, which by now was mostly in the hands of the Presbyterians, they declared that any group of believers in any

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

place could constitute themselves as a church with full liberty to act and believe as they pleased. And when such a church was set up, all its members signed a covenant, an agreement binding themselves to unity and laying down the rights and duties of all.

And this is precisely what the Levellers proposed to do on a national scale. England was to become a gathered nation, with a covenant, *The Agreement of the People*, which was to be signed by all and was to guarantee the fundamental democratic rights and liberties of all. As a result of the war, they argued, "all legal Authority in England was broke", no body or person had any right to rule, and therefore the right had returned to its place of origin, the whole people of England. They alone could place themselves under a law, and this could only be done by a covenant or agreement, the idea of which was perfectly familiar to thousands of people, including most of the Leveller leaders, who had been at some time or other involved in the formation of a gathered church.

The idea was familiar, but the extension of the idea was revolutionary. The church covenant was exclusive and dividing, setting a group apart: *The Agreement of the People* was inclusive, uniting a whole nation. It marked the passing from the privilege of the saints to the right of the Englishman. Finally, it was to be the foundation of a new society by an act of will and reason. The fact that it was not in practice possible to carry out such a plan does not diminish the boldness of its conception.

A Revolutionary Departure

In the face of all this, reactionary historians like W. Schenk still often argue that we are mistaken in regarding the Levellers as secular radicals, forerunners of Chartism and our own movement. They prefer to stress the extent to which Leveller thinking drew upon the past. Naturally, the Levellers, using what weapons came to hand, used the largely religious traditional forms of thought, but what is significant is not their debt to the past but their revolutionary departure from it. For the first time we can see emerging a secular democratic political theory, freeing itself from feudal survivals, including feudal religion.

This is more marked in Walwyn and Overton than in Lilburne. While Lilburne relies on his own interpretation of Magna Carta and the old laws of the realm, Overton writes: "Whatever our forefathers were, or whatever they did or suffered, or were enforced to yeeld unto; *we are men of the present age*" (*A Remonstrance*. In *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. D. Wolfe, 114 [My italics]). And Walwyn, though he can quote scripture with telling effect when he chooses, seems happier with Montaigne, of whose essay on Cannibals he says:

> Go to this honest Papist, or to these innocent Cannibals, ye Independent Churches, to learn civility, humanity, simplicity of heart; yea, charity and Christianity (*Walwyns Just Defence*, 11).

This is as far removed from the popular present-day conception of Puritanism as is Overton's insistence that what counts in politics is the policy and not the moral character of the individual:

> As I am myself in respect to my own personall sins and transgressions; so I am to myself and to God and so I must give an account; the just must stand by his own faith; But as I am in relation to the Commonwealth, that all men have cognizance of, because it concerns their own particular lives. . . . So that the business is, not how great a sinner I am, but how faithfull and reall to the Commonwealth; that's the matter concerneth my neighbour, and whereof my neighbour is only in this publick controversie to take notice; and for my personal sins that are not of Civil cognizance or wrong unto him, to leave them to God, whose judgement is righteous and just (*The Picture of the Councel of State*. In *Leveller Tracts*, 231).

A Revolution in Retreat

Through the period when the Revolution was developing we can thus trace a steady process of secularisation of thought, of the transition from church democracy to civil democracy, from religious toleration to civil liberties, from the demand for a free pulpit to the demand for a free press. Yet it is essential to see that this is a process, that we cannot understand the end without understanding that it was implicit in the beginnings. After the defeat of the Levellers in 1649, which, if we do not press the analogy too hard, might be called the Thermidor of the English Revolution, we can notice a change, which is in a sense a reversal of this process.

Instead of religious ideas developing into openly political ideas, we find political ideas reclothing themselves in religious and even mystical forms. In defeat, and the demoralisation and despair that defeat can produce, what had seemed possible to human power and reason began to seem impossible. Yet, given the religious setting of the Revolution, the conviction of the revolutionaries that they have been fighting the Lord's battle, complete despair may be long in coming. Surely the Lord will not desert the cause "for which He has often wonderfully declared Himself". He can, if He will,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intervene even more directly and bring victory out of defeat. It was in such an atmosphere that the early Quakers appeared, or the Fifth Monarchy Men who rose in arms in the darkest hour of 1660, confident that God would give them victory as He had given it to Gideon when he led out a handful of heroes to free a nation. Yet at this stage, hope often becomes a willingness to wait upon the Lord rather than a readiness for action.

Both Quakers and Fifth Monarchy Men have been the subject of considerable attention. I would like to devote the rest of my limited space to a much less well-known and perhaps even more significant group, the Ranters.

The Ranters were rather a movement than a sect, combining a variety of seemingly contradictory views from a mystical pantheism to a robust plebeian materialism, like that of the journeyman cobbler who,

> when he heard any mention of God, he used to laugh, and in a disdainful manner say that he believed *money*, good *clothes*, good *meat and drink*, *tobacco and merry company* to be *Gods*: but he was little beholding to any of these: for his God allowed him but eight pence or ten pence a day, and that he made him work for (*The Arraignment . . . of the Ranters*).

Nevertheless, the most common ground was a conviction that God existed in man and in all material things, "as much in the ivie leaf as in the most glorious Angel", a conviction that could lead in practice to materialist as well as mystical conclusions. And politically their conclusions were of an equalitarian nature—their common mode of address among themselves was "Fellow Creature", and Ranter writers have a marked tendency towards a naive communism. The most remarkable of these writers, Abiezer Coppe, in *The Fiery Flying Roll*, declares

> For our part we that hear the APOSTLE preach will also have all things in common; neither will we call anything that we have our own . . . wee'l eat our bread in singleness of heart, wee'l break bread from house to house.

Rise and Fall of the Ranters

The Ranters came quite suddenly into prominence in 1649, almost immediately after the final defeat of the Levellers at Burford, and for about a year seem to have attracted a mass following, especially among the London poor, though there are reports of Ranter activities from almost every part of England. They appealed especially to the lower strata of the population, the urban poor and even to the more or less criminal elements, people with whom no party in the Revolution had previously concerned itself. Yet they also won support among former Levellers: Rainborough's brother Thomas, a major and a J.P., was of their party, and some of their pamphlets were published by the official Leveller printer William Larner. Often, as is not perhaps surprising, they combine extremely radical views with a rather negative pacifism. Thus, Coppe, while saying that the executed Levellers were "hellishly murdered" and "died martyrs for God and their Country", declares himself opposed to both "sword levelling" and "digging levelling". The rich are unsparingly condemned and private property is "the cause of all the blood that ever has been shed, from the blood of the righteous Abell to the blood of the last Levellers that were shot to death. *And now (as I live saith the Lord) I am come to make inquisition for blood*" (*Fiery Flying Roll*).

So the Revolution, which man has been unable to complete, will be completed by a miracle:

> Behold, I the eternal God the Lord of Hosts, who am that mighty Leveller am coming (yea even at the doores) to Levell in good earnest, to Levell to some purpose, to Levell with a witness, to Levell the Hills with the Valleys, and to lay the Mountains low (*ibid*).

Hill and valley were well recognised class symbols in the seventeenth century, just as Abel as opposed to Cain, was a symbol of the poor and exploited.

Another Ranter writer, Joseph Salmon, combines the same pacifism with a quite sophisticated religious-political theory. Starting from the old and familiar idea of the three Ages into which the history of the world can be divided, each Age being marked with its own peculiar revelation which was to be abrogated by the higher truth revealed in the succeeding Age, he applies this conception to contemporary politics.

God, he says, moved from Monarchy to Parliament and now:

> We see in a short time, he layes aside that glorious shew and Idol, (the Parliament) and cloathes himself with the Army. . . .
>
> Thus far we see God hath moved from party to party, and sits down at present in the Army: and here also God makes darkness his secret place, living under a poor, low, carnal form, and few can behold his beautiful presence under the power of the sword.

God's will is now that the Army lay down its sword. He will give victory out of suffering and humility:

> You are afraid to lay down your Swords, lest you should lose your Liberties; but the Lord will recompense you this seven-fold into your bosome, he is coming to make you free to suffer a blessed Freedom, a glorious Liberty, a suffic-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> ient recompense for the loss of all outward glories. . . . When you are become the Children of this new birth, you shall be able to play upon the hole of the Aspe, and to dwell with the Cockatrice in his den, oppression and tyranny shall be destroyed before you (*A Rout, A Rout: Or some part of the Armies Quarters Beaten Up*).

There is something moving in the writing of the Ranters, and it is easy to see what an appeal it had in a time of defeat, yet it is impossible not to find there all the signs of a revolution in retreat, an abandonment of the rational hope that had inspired men like Overton and Walwyn, a realisation that they were calling upon their last resources when everything else had failed. The Ranters had a seed of life in them but it was doomed never to germinate. However, it was strong enough to alarm the Commonwealth Government and provoke a savage repression, which perhaps the Ranters' own extravagances also invited.

Coppe's book was ordered to be publicly burnt, as containing "many horrid Blasphemies, and damnable and detestable opinions to be abhorred by all good and godly people". Coppe himself suffered a long imprisonment and was forced to recant, at least in part. The same fate befell Salmon. Ranter meetings were raided and broken up, many were imprisoned or flogged, a swarm of catchpenny, witch-hunting pamphlets attacked their doctrines and practices. By the end of 1650 Ranterism as an organised force was virtually stamped out, and every attempt was made to wipe it from the pages of history. As Ranters declined Quakers grew, and the early Quakers were more akin to the Ranters than their present-day descendants would care to admit. But what was lost was the aggressive radicalism, the underlying materialism and the hope of a new life for all: Quakerism marks a new stage in the retreat from the Revolution.

This is well illustrated in the title of a pamphlet issued by George Fox in 1659:

> A Few Plain Words To be considered by those of the Army, Or others that would have a Parliament That is chosen by the voyces of the people, to govern the three Nations. Wherein is shewed unto them according to the Scripture of Truth, that a Parliament so chosen are not likely to govern for God, and the good of his People.

Fox combines thoroughly anti-democratic sentiments with certain progressive demands, such as abolition of tithe, reform of the law and religious toleration.

The crux of the matter perhaps lies in the phrase "his people". If Lilburne or Rainborough had used such an expression it would have meant the people of England—the whole population with the exception of active Royalists, rich exploiters, monopolists and persecutors generally. For Fox it means his own little church, the sanctified minority. So, as the Revolution passed its climax, revolutionary Puritanism began its long decline into a political nonconformity. This decline has been a long, complex and uneven process, which it is impossible to attempt to trace here. Nonconformist radicalism has its history, and has at various times made brave and fruitful stands for a variety of good causes. But the issues on which it has fought have been secondary and limited issues: never since the seventeenth century has it been able, or ever wished, to take a central, leading position in the nation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paperbacks—a Revolution in Printing?

John Prime

PERHAPS Marxists, engaged as they are in the battle of ideas, tend not to give enough attention to new developments in the media by which ideas are transmitted. The press, cinema and television may get due consideration, but other forms of mass communication escape almost unnoticed. For instance, a serious study of the popular magazine, and especially the woman's magazine, would reveal a shocking picture of the deliberate fostering of what might be termed "the new subliteracy". Another fruitful avenue of research would be the changes in book publishing and distribution since the war. This article merely examines one of those changes, namely the recent spectacular growth in paperback publishing.

The term "paperback" is difficult to define. The French, for example, produce most of their books in paper covers, yet only a minority of them are comparable with our paperbacks, and consequently are defined differently as "les livres de poche" (the Americans use the terms paperback and pocketbook synonymously). Obviously, then, not every paper-bound book qualifies for the definition "paperback". Until recently one might have been satisfied with the definition of J. E. Morpurgo, director of the National Book League, that "paperbacks are books produced for a mass market at popular prices and in inexpensive format—almost always bound in paper". But this will no longer suffice with the arrival of the "egg-head" variety. It is doubtful whether the publishers of Kierkegaard's *Either/Or,* or of Heriot's *The Castrati in Opera* have *exactly* a mass audience in mind. Probably the nearest one can come to a definition is that a paperback is a book, which is aimed at a considerably wider market that that of an equivalent hard-bound edition, through a low price made possible by a large printing and economical methods of production, especially paper binding.

Paperbacks in this sense of the word are nothing new. The Tauchnitz paper-covered reprints of English books for the continental market appeared in 1841, and the still-famous German Reclam series began a few years later. Yet the publication of the first Penguins, in 1935, was in effect the rebirth of the paperback. From that date paperback publishing has steadily increased in this country, until today there are circulating in Britain 100 series covering 6,000 titles, and probably accounting for home sales of well over 45 million —at least half as many again being exported.

Economic Basis for Paperbacks

But if the growth of paperback publishing has been steady since those early days, it has certainly gone ahead with a sudden leap this autumn. *The Times Literary Supplement* has for once allowed its enthusiasm to run away with itself, and has reviewed the latest batch of paperbacks under the heading "The October Revolution". The fact is that for the last ten years and more the real value of book sales in this country has remained far too static for the publishers' comfort. Rising costs of production and distribution of the traditionally bound book rule out any great chances of widening the book-buying public. The prices of paperbacks, however, beginning from such a low pre-war level, can bear a much bigger increase without inhibiting sales. Somehow or other the pre-war Sixpenny Penguin, now selling at seven times its pre-war price, seems much more reasonable than the cloth-bound novel which has only trebled in price. Paperbacks also present the publisher with far more potential outlets. The newsagents, tobacconists, and super-markets can accommodate paperbacks, whereas "books" in the old-fashioned sense of the word would be quite out of place on their shelves.

Another attraction for the publisher is the lower royalty paid on many paperback titles. For it is still generally the case that the paperback is a reprint, which the author sees as a source of income, welcome but secondary to that from the original edition. (Pelicans are an exception to this rule, being in most cases especially commissioned for the series).

In the early days paperback publishers thought of their books as expendable, to be thrown away after one reading. This may still be true of the thriller bought on the station bookstall, but the advent of the "egg-head" paperback from the university presses, with prices reaching 15s. or even £1, underlines the tendency for more and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more serious and permanent publishing to take this form. The slim, uniform-sized book, often with a bright, well-designed cover, fits well into the compact contemporary home, and this may explain why in the United States paperback editions have been known to outsell a hand-bound edition of the same work at the same price.

A further impetus to paperback production is the vision of new markets in the newly-independent countries. Publishers realise that literacy will spread more rapidly throughout Africa in the next few years than the purchasing power of the newly literate. Whoever can offer the necessary books in the cheapest form will win the markets—a fact which the Americans, aided by their Government, have not been at all slow to realise.

What is Being Offered

Undoubtedly, then, the rapidly increasing range of paperbacks must mean that book ownership is becoming feasible for an ever-growing number of people. It is most important, therefore, to know something about the bill of intellectual fare that is being offered to these new customers.

First, let it be admitted that there is a great deal of rubbish, pornography and violence being offered in this form, especially since the Board of Trade regulations governing American imports were relaxed. It is impossible to produce a statistical survey, but it is true to say that this type of publication represents, for the time being, only a small part of the paperback market.

Unfortunately, some publishers have felt it necessary to clothe unexceptionable titles in garish or suggestive covers, thus giving the impression that the unhealthy paperback is more widespread than is the case. One may, for instance, question the desirability of the cover in which W.D.L. Books have produced Henry James's *Turn of the Screw,* or whether the covers of the Bestseller Library editions do justice to Zola. There is a definite misreading of public taste here. A paperback wholesaler recently wrote to the *New Statesman* that "we have discovered that it does not do to assume that the lurid cover necessarily outsells the plainer Penguin. It so happens that my firm supplies . . . a number of supermarkets and it has been interesting—and somewhat surprising—to find that in these outlets suggestions of a world on heat cut little or no ice! . . . I doubt if we are really correct in assuming that more and more cheesecake is all that is required as you get nearer and nearer the bottom of the social scale".

The best way to get some idea of the scope of paperback publishing is to study one of the two comprehensive catalogues available—*Paperbacks —A Reference Catalogue* and *Paperbacks-in-Print.* These show that there is now available a very comprehensive selection of English, and indeed world literature. Obvious gaps exist. Eighteenth-century literature is scrappily covered. Dickens and Scott are very thinly represented. Children's classics are few and far between; indeed outside the "Puffin" series children are poorly catered for. But when all is said and done the range of serious literature is impressive.

Until recently it could be argued that serious writing outside the realm of fiction and belles-lettres was represented to any degree only by Pelicans. But now, within a month or two, we have seen Oxford, Cambridge, Routledge, U-Books, New Fontana, University Paperbacks and others all moving into this field.

The result is an almost embarrassing choice of bourgeois scholarship. Within a few weeks there have been added to the catalogues works by Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Freud, Moore, Hulme, Malinowski, Jeans, Gilbert Murray, Bernhard Berenson and Wilson Knight, to mention only a few names at random. Many standard university textbooks have appeared in paper covers, such as Bennett's *Life on the English Manor* (Cambridge), Fisher's *History of Europe* (New Fontana), Barber's *Greek Political Theory* (University), Cazamian's *A History of French Literature* (Oxford) and Richard's *Principles of Literary Criticism* (Routledge).

"Egg-head" Books

The term "egg-head", so often applied to this type of book, is a term of American derivation, and in fact this type of paperback originated with the American university presses. Their products are now being imported into this country at a steadily increasing rate, and one not unnaturally notes such titles as *Rumour, Fear and the Madness of Crowds, The Case Against Tomorrow, The Marching Morons* and *The Mad Reader* with a certain degree of foreboding.

On the whole, directly political publishing in paperback form is perhaps less than one might expect. Only one list is predominantly political—Pall Mall—and that is certainly not distinguished by the leftness of its bias. Scattered among the more general lists we may come across some hardy perennials, such as Hayek's *Road to Serfdom* (Routledge) and Rostow's *Stages of Political Growth* (Cambridge). Penguins have not repeated the success of their "Specials" published just before and during the war; most of their political publishing now is "safe", e.g., the simultaneous presentation at the time of the last General Elec-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of Hailsham's *Conservative Case,* Jenkin's *Labour Case and* Fulford's *Liberal Case.*

Left and Progressive Books

How, then, does the left fare in the paperback lists? The answer, perhaps, is "as well as can be expected in the circumstances", for tucked away here and there are a considerable number of progressive books. Corgi has published Russell's *Scourge of the Swastika* and *Knights of the Bushido,* Calderbooks has presented *Gangraena* and *In the Court of Public Opinion.* New trends in Africa find their reflection in Nkrumah's *Ghana* (Nelson) and Clutton-Brock's *Dawn in Nyasaland* (Hodder). A notable recent addition has been U-Books' *Essential Left,* embracing the *Communist Manifesto; Value, Price and Profit; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,* and *The State and Revolution,* Pelicans and Penguins have provided valuable sociological studies in Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy* and Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders.* From Pan comes *The Diary of Anne Frank.*

The literature of the left is fairly well represented, too. The paperback buyer can choose from the plays of O'Casey (St. Martin's), the Wesker Trilogy (Penguin), Delaney's *A Taste of Honey* and Behan's *The Hostage* (Methuen), Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* (Faber), Mankowitz's *Expresso Bongo* (Ace) and Brecht's *Poems* and *Parables* (Evergreen). Novels include Gorky's *Childhood* (Bestseller), Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* (Four Square), Feuchtwanger's *Jew Suss* (Ace), Dreiser's *American Tragedy* (Mayflower), and several works of Thomas Mann, Ernest Hemingway and John Steinbeck. Folklore has up to now made little headway into this field, but mention must be made of the *Penguin Book of English Folk Songs,* edited by Vaughan Williams and A. L. Lloyd.

The only continuous effort to produce a selection of specifically progressive paperbacks has been made by Seven Seas Books, published in English in Berlin. The editors are American, and this fact is rather reflected in the choice of authors (Heym, Polonsky, Maltz, Muir Saxton, Lars Lawrence and others). Particularly noteworthy is Seven Seas' anthology of American writing, *The American Century,* and *Jack London—American Rebel,* which will go far in rehabilitating a writer who seems to get his due in all countries except those where his native tongue is spoken. In the same series Bloom's *Transvaal Episode* is a fine contribution to the battle against apartheid, while Freehill's *China, All About It* is a model of how to introduce a socialist country to the general reader.

Readers in this country have particular reason to be grateful for the rescue by Seven Seas of such a forgotten classic of socialist writing as William Morris's *Dream of John Ball.* And mention of such a book turns one's thoughts to other works by Morris, Blatchford and London, to name only three writers, which might well be revived in paperback form.

But this is easier said than done. The minimum economic print for a low-priced paperback is 30,000 to 50,000, and even for the higher-priced egg-head a figure of lower than 10,000 is very difficult. Such figures demand considerable resources. The rule that control of the means of mass communication goes hand in hand with control of capital applies to paperbacks as well.

Nevertheless, progressives must ask themselves whether the left has fully appreciated the power of this medium. There are certain political ideas and arguments that cannot be adequately conveyed within one small pamphlet.

At a time of such ferment within the Labour movement and beyond, a means must be found for developing sustained political argument such as was provided by the volumes of the Left Book Club before the war. There seems to be a need for a series of polemical paperbacks. One could then present a closely reasoned case for nuclear disarmament and abandonment of N.A.T.O. (so many members of the broad peace movement see the need for the first step without caring to face up to the sequel of the second). Another might, in a ruthlessly factual yet exciting way, tell the story of Soviet achievement and promise. Above all there is need (along the lines of Gallacher's fine Penguin published a few years after the war) for a new presentation of the overall *Case for Communism.* The paperback "revolution" may well have presented us with the means for taking this case into tens of thousands of homes which today's crisis of Labour have made more amenable to new political ideas than ever before.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Discussion contributions

On Culture and Socialism

Michael A. Cohen

I AM grateful for this opportunity of replying to the remarks made by Edwin H. Dare in the August issue of *Marxism Today* and of adding some afterthoughts to those I expressed on this subject in the June issue.

Comrade Dare concludes his contribution with the hope that he has "asked a few questions which will enable us to see more clearly the standards we wish to achieve" in theoretical discussions of culture. His hope is not completely unjustified, since his views on the dogmatic application of class labels to art are well argued. But it is regrettable that several points in his article should betray a distinctly careless reading of mine.

For example, the views of Comrade Gomulka on culture, quoted by me with specific reservations about their tendency to limit the question of culture to the question of art (in the conventional sense of art), Comrade Dare represents me as endorsing! By juxtaposing this supposed endorsement with a later statement that culture may refer to activities apart from what we normally refer to as art, Dare implies an inconsistency which did not exist in my article—whatever inconsistencies actually did.

Again, Comrade Dare accuses me of "inferring" that the non-industrial working class suffers from the diffusion of middle-class ideas of culture. I can find no inference to this effect in my admittedly unsatisfactory contribution. What I did say was that those people who accuse the working class of having no cultural aspirations suffer from a limited characteristically middle-class view of cultural perfection.

Comrade Dare objects to my being uncertain about the terms of reference for the discussion of culture. This is true—I am uncertain about the area of human activity covered by the term, and I had hoped to reach clarity about this from discussion in *Marxism Today*. But Comrade Dare's own generalisations about the matter do not strike me as helpful.

At first he appears reluctant to narrow the definition of culture from the one given by Edgell Rickword in *The Mind in Chains*: "the inherited solution of problems of vital importance to society". This, Dare regards as an adequate description of "the pub darts team, the pigeon fanciers' club, the working men's club snooker team or watching football". I don't understand why.

He goes on to say that if a narrower definition is required, it might read something like,

> activities not concerned with man's struggle to live but those things concerned with his spiritual understanding . . . (using spiritual in the mental, not the "soulful" sense).

The antithesis formed here between "activities concerned with man's struggle to live" and those *things concerned with his "mental understanding"* doesn't seem to have much in common with Marxism. Isn't it the Marxist view that man's "mental understanding" develops out of the "activities concerned with his struggle to live"?

And why should these activities of "mental understanding," which Dare goes on to define as "literature, music and decorative arts," be all there is to culture? What about physical culture? And if all that is meant by culture is the Arts, why bother to use the term culture? So far as abstract generalisations about culture go I prefer my own, given in the June issue—"the development of the human faculty for the execution of conscious creative purposes". In this, at least, the pub darts team can be reconciled with the decorative arts!

Culture is an extraordinarily difficult question. The difficulties are partly linguistic. The word has such a wealth of connotations. But I have recently reached the conclusion that the attempt to assimilate this complex metaphor into the precise terminology of Marxism presents difficulties which it may not be worth the effort to overcome. The linguistic approach is not a very helpful one because whatever meaning we choose to attach to the word we shall not dispose of a good many others. We may become constantly involved in rather abortive problems of statement and definition.

A Slogan with a History

A more helpful line perhaps is to recognise that culture cannot be too exact a term because it is, in fact, a slogan with a history of one hundred and fifty years in which time it has been involved with a whole complex of ideas.

The use of the word developed in a tradition of nineteenth century thought which, so far as the greatest figures were concerned, saw an antagonism between the best aims and values of human life, and those of industrial capitalist society. This

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is the fine thing about British cultural thought: the plea for culture was, more often than not, bound up with fundamental criticisms of capitalist society. We cannot read Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Carlyle, Ruskin and many others before Morris, without being impressed by the extent to which they are on our side.

Indeed there aren't so many nineteenth century writers of any distinction which Mr. Macmillan could read himself to sleep with, as he reputedly does with Trollope. The Tories are not the inheritors of our great literary traditions: their rule is a mockery of everything our great writers stand for.

The great weakness of this cultural tradition was its abstraction. Roughly speaking, culture came to mean something like the "good life" the general idea of which involved the flowering of art, creativity and love; human relations based on something other than the cash nexus; a human life which developed in harmony with, and as harmoniously as, nature. But, with the exception of Morris, no one could visualise the concrete basis of such a life—communism. Thus we have inherited an abstract slogan which, if we are to use it, must be reconciled with the Marxist analysis of basis and superstructure.

The best I can do is to say that culture is most usefully regarded as part of the superstructure, as those things which contribute to the enrichment of human life over and above the basic relations and processes of production: such things as art, sport, leisure, creative work in general and communal life. Taking this admittedly (and I think unavoidably) imprecise usage, the culture of an individual, class or society becomes simply the part such things play in relation to the individual, class or society.

The Good Life

The word culture began as a slogan for the good life that could not be achieved under capitalism. Our business today is to preserve this heritage and to add to it the concrete analysis of Marxism. We can show the futility of the slogan when not related to fundamental criticism of capitalism: that, whatever the cultural question—sport, the Arts, leisure, education or the preservation of the English countryside—the solution of it is bound up with the advance to socialism.

To take a single example from sport. We have only to consider that there exist just two ten-metre diving boards in the whole of Britain for Brian Phelps to practise on (and the unfulfilled Brian Phelpses in every Secondary Modern playground). At the Olympic Games even the B.B.C. commentators were coming round to the point of view that we should take a leaf out of the Russian book. But we can't emulate the Russians in sport without emulating them in other, more fundamental, things.

All those things which will give the mass of the people a fuller and richer life depend on the fight against capitalism and for socialism. In our general political work I don't think we can emphasise too often that everything is a reason for ending capitalism and building socialism—especially when we approach the youth who are potentially our biggest allies (or someone else's, as fascism demonstrated). The full, rich life which young people, above all, desire, depends on the advance to socialism.

I don't want to play down the short-term issues which may not take us far along the socialist road. They are always ends in themselves. But what we have to fight for is the recognition that all victories within the framework of capitalism—cultural or otherwise—such as limited nationalisation, comprehensive schools in a few places, civic or state backing for the Arts, are fish out of water. Or rather they are fish in the dirty water of capitalism and there are always sharks around to gobble them up. The arguments which the sharks advance too may often have a sort of perverse logic so long as the basic change to socialism has not been carried through.

It is becoming possible to put an end to the kind of labour and conditions of labour which have stunted men's souls under capitalism and in all class societies. The way is opening for an abundant development of creativity in the mass of people. But only if we fully develop the revolutionary productive techniques at our disposal on which the productive relations of capitalism act as fetters. Capitalism is most clearly the enemy of culture in 1960 if we compare what is with what is now possible. Yet, as Lionel Munby pointed out in the September issue, the effect of capitalism on things we now describe as cultural has often been two-sided.

Capitalism has made some very positive contributions to the development of cultural life through the very creations with which it has destroyed older cultural patterns. The failure to recognise this is characteristic of almost everybody in the British tradition of cultural thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is partly because most of this thinking about culture has been done from the standpoint of the middle class intelligentsia, and partly because the thinkers did not enjoy the position of vantage from which the consequences of capitalism can be viewed in 1960. There is no excuse for continuing to look at capitalism and culture in a one-sided way today.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Culture and Socialism

Yet this is surely the fundamental weakness of much contemporary cultural discussion; this and the failure to recognise that the fight for culture is part of the class struggle against capitalism. For example, what conclusions about working-class culture can we draw from Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy*? Apart from the fact that Hoggart's whole discussion of working-class culture is crippled by a definition of class which shows all the confusions attendant on the use of superficial social features ("mass produced clothing," "the cracked warm-hearted voice of working-class women in their forties") to define a class, we are led by Hoggart to conclude that working-class culture has declined since the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, whereas the truth is surely that it has also improved—in other respects.

We no longer have the Victorian music halls; the brass bands and choirs don't flourish to the extent that they used to. On the other hand isn't it true to say that the "mass media" have a very positive side, and that they are potentially entirely positive, under socialist control?

But for Hoggart the problems of culture have very little to do with the winning of socialism. One is inclined to feel that people who argue in the way that Hoggart does would be culturally content if the English workers were more like the Irish. It would be very nice to have native folk singers topping the hit parade in England above rock-and-roll in the way that Bridie Gallagher and Margaret Barry do in Ireland, but does this make the Irish workers culturally better off to a decisive extent? Would we pay the price of the Victorian period for the return of the music hall?

If we look at the Soviet Union we can see the fundamental change which has taken place in the part which the complex of things which I have broadly defined as culture plays in the life of the Soviet working class. Comrade Dare can see no such fundamental change and actually compares the spontaneous demonstrations of joy, with which the Soviet citizens greeted Khrushchov on his return from a great peace mission, to crowds round a rock-and-roll star. But since the only things of relevance to Comrade Dare in a discussion of culture are the Arts, we had better argue the matter on his own terms.

Fundamental changes have taken place in the position of the Arts in Soviet society as compared with capitalist societies, for which Comrade Dare's phrase "more participation" seems very inadequate. The market is no longer the type of the artist's relations with society. Art is no longer a commodity. The mass of the people appreciate great art—as even John Wain testifies. Where talent exists it is fostered free from commercialism. The pathetic cry of D. H. Lawrence: "I am a genius and I don't know where the next meal is coming from" is not heard. These are mighty advances, Comrade Dare.

On the fight Against Dismissals

Les Burt

"The sudden rapid increase in short-time working in the motor industry is but the latest symptom of the sickness in the nation's economy caused by the Government's policy.

"By now it must be apparent to all save the most entrenched Civil Servants and Bank of England officials that the economic curbs are strangling the nation's economy" (*Evening Standard*, Editorial, October 13th, 1960).

Even capitalist supporters may know whom to blame, but the basic solution can only be brought about by the organised workers in struggle. The experiences now being gained by the workers fighting against sacking and short time will help to bring such a solution.

The heart of any policy against sackings must be based on the fight for the right to a job. Much is being said about obtaining redundancy agreements with the employers as being the key question con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fronting the trade unions. Such an outlook only seeks to accommodate the problem within the framework of capitalism, not to challenge it.

What worries workers faced with large cut-backs in production is how to answer the arguments that come up: "Work-people surplus to production requirements"; "The Seasonal Fall in Sales"; and a whole spider's web of such ideas to cramp a worker from seeing a way out of a "free economy".

The first reaction to redundancy that has become almost traditional in many factories is to share the work out on a three- or four-day week, to stop lads "going out the door". This is in the main dependent upon the strength of the shop organisation. Everyone is aware that this policy is only a stop-gap and can't go on for ever.

What new ideas are emerging? In industries where over-production is developing, workers are seeing that "stop-gap" solutions are not enough to cope with the crisis in jobs that they face. The recent Rootes Group strike expressed a step forward in its policy of "No sacking without suitable alternative work", backed by the solidarity action of Rootes Group factories involving 11,000 workers.

Some Problems

Being able to develop solidarity on a big scale within a capitalist combine is not without its problems. The very nature of such a challenge brings workers into conflict with the most powerful capitalist forces and the right wing within the trade unions.

Firstly, the employers have an organisation which *operates* in defence of their interests, at great speed, whereas on the union side the shop stewards are having to fight for combined trade union organisation against the right-wing leaders, who put every obstacle in the way of such developments.

Secondly, the T.U.C. Bridlington Agreement (i.e., before a strike can be made official, agreement of all unions involved in the strike must be secured) is used by the right-wing leaders as a means of blocking official support and ordering those out on strike to return to work to "allow negotiations to take place", or as a means of removing the army of solidarity from behind the particular factory that is out on strike, as in the case of the Rootes dispute.

Thirdly, the workers face the tremendous frustration of fighting in practice for the official policy of their union in opposing redundancy, and at the same time having to fight the right-wing grip of those who have been responsible for setbacks in strike after strike that should have received official support.

What Needs to be Done

In spite of difficulties facing workers in the motor industry, in the fight against short-time working and sacking, the general level of understanding of what needs to be done is developing.

The widespread demand for political solutions is instanced by the Lobby of Parliament that has been taking place, where workers hammer home their solutions to the crisis. And what a pitiful case is put by M.P.s in comparison. Crossman's advice was that "redundancy agreements" should be negotiated (wouldn't the bosses love that).

Much more emphasis is being put on having your own publicity campaign and to break through the press silence or misrepresentation that workers face. The Earls Court Show demonstration was an example of this.

Experience shows that to develop solidarity a mass of leaflets giving a regular up-to-date picture of the struggle is essential: not only has the movement to contend with capitalist propaganda, but Trotskyist and Catholic action groups are active in spreading confusion.

No effective fight against developing unemployment can be successful without the struggle being carried on within the trade unions. A strike brings home this lesson very forcibly. For the right-wing leaders not only "face both ways" in the struggle for peace. Policy decisions in most unions call for resistance to sackings, but are being sabotaged by the "Sirs" and their henchmen, who fear like a plague the mass movement. If the opposition to such leaders does not lead to pressure being developed in the trade union branches demanding the operation of progressive policies, the whole movement suffers, and faces the same struggle year by year.

With increased capitalist competition developing workers are concerned that in the new factories now under construction for the big motor monopolies, rates of pay must be on a par with those in the parent factories. Immediate links need to be forged between the shop organisations of the old and the new plants; to achieve this, and to prevent redundancies in one place at the expense of another, is an urgent problem before the movement at the present time.

The battle for jobs and wages will be highlighted as a result of the big cut-price policy adopted by the Common Market countries. At the Turin Motor Show up to £150 was lopped off the price of cars. Every experienced trade unionist knows that the bosses don't intend this to be reflected in lower profits, but in cutting the cost per unit produced—i.e., wage rates. Only increased solidarity and pressure for shorter hours and higher wages will prevent the capitalist crisis of markets from being solved at the workers' expense.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hidden Unemployment

With well over a hundred thousand workers on short-time working, i.e., two, three or four days' employment, other problems not directly within the industry have to be faced. But they highlight the dangers of not fighting short time, or, to put it plainly, hidden unemployment. The Tory Government is now in the process of challenging payment of unemployment benefit to those on short time: this is taking the form of using the "Guaranteed Week" agreements that exist between employers and unions to disqualify from claiming benefit. In addition, those workers who do night shifts are also to be attacked on the ground that their hours of work run into two separate days. The Commissioners may be inclined to rule that a man must subsidise his unemployment days with those few when he will be earning wages. This may not seem very important, but to workers struggling against redundancy it is part of this struggle. It is worth noting that during the Tory-inspired crisis in the consumer goods industries of 1957, this attempt to stop unemployment benefit was defeated by the challenge of shop stewards, who with union district officials won the day.

Perhaps the most important development taking place is the growing understanding that capitalist ownership of industry must be changed if the continuous threat to jobs is to be ended. It is also a fact that where this feeling is the strongest is where the Communist Party branches in industry are actively campaigning. It is their work that is bringing together the struggle for jobs and wages with the fight for peace and socialism.

On How New is the "New Left"?

Irwin Ross

ARNOLD KETTLE'S attempt to *"estimate justly the significance of the petty-bourgeois Left"* is very welcome, particularly to those who live and work among middle-class intellectuals and professional people, to those who are students, or who teach, etc.

Nevertheless, would it not have been advisable to differentiate more clearly the different elements which go to make the "New Left", itself a rather loose term for varied groups of predominantly younger people. This would be a valuable and rewarding task, for I believe Comrade Kettle is a little behind the times—not surprising with the speed of developments.

Scarborough and Polaris are fast changing the long entrenched political positions of the Labour Party right-wing political machine. The "New Left" writers on the other hand, various and varied, demonstrate far more clearly, the weaknesses which stem from a basically anti-Communist position, which in turn forces them, often in the face of all logic, to embrace neutralism, completely ignoring the positive attempts of peaceful co-existence, disarmament proposals, etc. made by the U.S.S.R. (If one examines, of course, the origins of the "New Left" then the reasons for these contradictions appear more comprehensible).

It is this element of contradiction within the New Left organisationally which should inspire caution when attempting generalisations. Above all, a new left* is emerging on a wide front throughout the country, in areas where erstwhile Party members or New Left groups do not exist. Here, of course is what is new in the left forces, really new, not the product of the New Left Review any more than it is the product of any one group alone.

That is why the discussion "How new" is so valuable and needs taking up in a sympathetic way in an attempt to find common ground for united efforts to preserve our very Island's existence.

For while most comrades realised the need to preserve our Party from ideas which have everything in common with Gaitskellism and liberalism, ideas which would have disarmed the movement (as we now see this struggle against revisionism of a cruder sort continues in the Labour Party, and renders it impotent as any sort of united force inside or outside Parliament at a time when as never before the true voice of the British people needs to be heard), the tremendous possibilities arising from what Kettle calls "the actual achievements of the middle-class sections

* new left *in small letters* is simply used to mean the emergence of articulate and active groups of men and women, often members of the Labour Party, C.N.D. and other peace groups.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the peace movement, which are greater in Britain than perhaps anywhere else except Japan in the capitalist world" were not realised.

This realisation is the condition for the successful emergence of a powerful nationwide movement against not just the H-bomb, but the bases, American domination, and Nato; and the destruction of the myths concerning the Soviet Union's intentions—a situation rendered progressively more favourable, as Leninist norms returned to Party life in the U.S.S.R., resulting in tremendous strides forward and in new and more exciting initiatives for peaceful co-existence.

New Opportunities

I think that the opportunities exist for further tremendous developments in this sphere, particularly with regard to the creation of an articulate movement of young people with *political* as well as cultural objectives.

The year 1960 is not 1956, and in the era of declining imperialism, in the year that belongs to Africa and the liberation of millions more from colonial subjugation, a completely new situation exists. One in which it is possible to wage with renewed vigour the battle of ideas, the battle which illustrates the superiority of our socialist ideas and *practice* over those of the imperialists and those not so left petty-bourgeois ideas that defend the "Establishment" and sell "Images" and "father figures". Our task is to engage in discussion with the petty bourgeois left, with *common action* in defence of peace and against N.A.T.O. the objective. In action, ideas change and people change. This is where Marxist method and ideology demonstrates its strength.

Therefore, notwithstanding "the politically demoralising period of the failure of the Labour Government and the rigours of the anti-Communist cold war" I would question the usefulness of Kettle's assertion that the leftward impulse among the middle class in the thirties was a good deal more consciously socialist and politically realistic than the present tendencies. As he says himself, over Suez, repression in Nyasaland, over Cyprus and over the Apartheid issue in South Africa, it has been quite clear that this Left impulse was not a matter of mere talk and idealistic dreaming.... "There were no larger student political demonstrations than those of the last few years".

Youth and Culture

Likewise, since one of the most clearly and sharply defined ways in which subservience to the U.S. and its so-called way of life reveals itself to ordinary men and women is in the universal attack on normal, decent, standards of behaviour via the mass-media, is it not obvious and correct that the first steps along the road to political action should have often been taken in the name of cultural values? I make this point because I question the assertion that there is "a strongly anti-political, and especially anti-political-party flavour about much current left feeling." The tentency existed, agreed—but it was Transport House that closed down the Labour League of Youth. Look now at the tremendous growth in the Young Socialists branch building. Likewise the Y.C.L. is recruiting, and other organisations and committees like the Youth Peace Campaign and the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. They all want to talk politics and they all want and need places to meet.

When are we going to realise this and help them? Since when has a place that is "ours", a club-room or a "den", been out? Of course the Coffee House can become some sort of *bête-noir* or bug-bear when factionalism is rife, as no doubt the right wing of the Labour Party have found out after the row in Manchester when Gaitskell tried to use the platform for fighting and fighting again, but this is not the point. Young people do want decent places to meet, and do want to express their antagonism to "contemporary capitalism" in a variety of forms.

To call this anti-political is to underestimate the situation among young people. To do this of course means also to neglect them, and yet again I make the demand that more help be given in a multiplicity of ways to develop the Y.C.L. and other youth organisations working for peace and international friendship. If we fail to give adequate leadership to this movement of young people and develop the *political* struggle, it will not be because of this so-called anti-political feeling, but because we are still clinging to a generation whose life experience was different to the 60's.

When Arthur the hero in the film *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* speaks about the bloke who is always on about the good old days, he is quite specific about what he would do to prevent a return to those "good old days". Arthur for all his weaknesses and confusion holds promise of great things, is full of suppressed power. My point is that he and others like him are becoming part of the New Left. It is our task to ensure that petty-bourgeois ideas are fought against, whether in the factory or in the left Coffee Houses. But above all—let's get in there and fight for our ideas and united action. In this way, providing we put the question, we will recruit young people to the Party and League.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the Labour Party Conference and After

Tom Durkin

JOHN MAHON'S article in the November issue raised vital questions concerning the Left advance in the Labour movement following the Scarborough conference.

To consolidate and develop this advance requires, above all, the raising of the level of class and socialist consciousness, particularly of the cadres of the Labour movement in the trade unions, Labour parties and Co-operatives. A campaign of class agitation, propaganda and socialist education is necessary to give the left an immediate policy that will be clearly seen as serving the class needs of the people, and the linking of such a policy with a perspective and strategy for the advance to socialism.

This would provide the basis for mobilising the working class and progressive forces for united struggle against the Tories and at the same time breaking the grip on policy and leadership by the right wing. To bring this clarity to the Labour movement the sale of Communist literature, *The British Road to Socialism* and Marxist classics, is essential.

The discussions now taking place touch on the very fundamentals of the advance to socialism in Britain, peace, democracy and Clause 4.

The proposals of the left on peace and socialism are inadequate. Right-wing thinking, policy and influence is very deep rooted. Through a series of policy statements, particularly since the 1955 general election, the right wing have worked consciously to eliminate class and socialist ideas from the Labour movement.

The workers have been told that the "old imperialism" is dead, that a new order based on the managerial revolution has evolved, and any difficulties could be solved by Keynesian tinkering. More production and higher productivity are the keys to ever expanding prosperity. Derelict industries here and there might need to be taken under public ownership. The businessman should be taken by the hand as a long lost brother. Industrial psychologists and time and motion experts are the oracles of the new order. All that remains is a "Code of Conduct" to enable the boss and worker, the landlord and tenant, the pensioner and banker, to live happily ever after. This illusory situation has been described by "new thinkers" as "the post-capitalist era", the "Welfare State", the "Affluent Society". Socialism is no longer necessary.

These ideas have been the basis of the practical policies and activities of the right wing. They have made the struggles for united action and solidarity amongst industrial workers, tenants and other sections all the more difficult. They need to be shattered, and we need to expose the exploitation and robbery of the working class, the fantastic gains, £10,000 million in two years, by Stock Exchange gamblers, the property speculation and rackets, the growth of monopoly and concentration due to the take-over bids, the crises in the coal, motor, building and other industries, the poverty of millions in addition to the old aged, the attacks on social services, etc.—all in order to make the handful of rich, ever richer.

The Labour Party Conference discussion revealed that outside of Marxists, only a small number understand socialism and what's involved in achieving it, i.e., the conquest of political power by the working class and its allies with a Marxist party as its core, and the taking over of the key levers of Britain's economy under socialist nationalisation.

The need to develop class and socialist understanding was above all evident in the debate on peace and the bomb. The main prop of the right-wing case for N.A.T.O. and the American bomb is the slander of "Russian aggression to spread communism".

Amongst the delegates at Scarborough were hundreds who detest landlords, speculators, bosses, bankers and the whole class of social parasites. Yet in fact they were being asked to line up behind the policies, system and war aims of precisely those self same forces who rule in the "West". No class speech was made to show that it was imperialism and monopoly capitalism which plunged the world twice into the inferno and has waged the most savage and continuous colonial wars.

What a breath of fresh air it would have been if speakers declared that British workers have nothing in common with American corporations and war-mad generals who serve them, with the German junkers and Nazi war criminal generals, with all the black reactionary forces lined up in N.A.T.O., C.E.N.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., whose aim is to hold back socialism and national liberation, to re-establish capitalist rule throughout the world in order to grind down and exploit the workers, including those sitting in the Labour Party Conference.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What an impact it could have had if delegates blazoned forth that socialism and the Soviet Union had ended the profit-making system, the driving force to wars, that workers rule Russia while monopoly parasites rule America, Britain and N.A.T.O.; that Russia has enormous economic development plans incompatible with war, the Americans have enormous arms plans designed for war; that it is Russia which puts proposals for disarmament and the capitalist West which consistently hedges and resists.

Through the weakness of the left attack on the basis of the right-wing case, the latter were able to come back with attacks alleging that the "unilateralist policy" would undermine collective security, force the U.S. into isolation, permit Germany to dominate N.A.T.O., increase the war danger due to encouragement of the "Soviet Union's designs", and thereby isolate Labour in forthcoming elections.

As on the question of socialism, the left needs to wage a class presentation of the causes of war and the fight for peace.

The lessons from the great positive developments of Scarborough must be learnt and acted upon for the left to consolidate and advance its support to break the right-wing grip on the leadership and to mobilise a great united mass movement for advance to lasting peace and socialism in Britain. For this a bigger Communist Party is the overriding need.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what's for Christmas ?

MOSCOW THEATRES
V Komissarzhevsky

A history of Moscow's magnificent theatres by the noted Soviet producer

illustrated 12s 6d

THE VAKHTANGOV SCHOOL OF STAGE ART
N Gorchakov

A study of the great director's stagecraft, with delightful reminiscences of Vakhtangov and his circle of friends

illustrations and colour plates 17s 6d

ARAM KHACHATURYAN
Grigory Shneerson

The noted musicologist's biography and critical study of the world-famous Armenian composer

illustrated 10s 6d

SERGEI PROKOFIEV

Autobiography, articles and notes by the composer and memoirs by renowned friends and contemporaries

illustrated 21s

full catalogue on request

order your

Christmas gifts

by mail

from

Central Books
37 Grays Inn Rd
London WC1

SERVING MY TIME
Harry Pollitt

Now reprinted. These reminiscences of childhood and early manhood have become an essential part of the history of the working-class movement.

10s. 6d.

THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT 1770-1920
A. L. Morton and George Tate

15s.

A PROSPECT OF PEACE
J. D. Bernal

An inspiring presentation of the potentialities of modern science.

3s. 6d.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION
Archibald Robertson

3s. 6d.

FREUD
A Pavlovian Critique
Harry K. Wells

Part 2 of a comparative study of Pavlov and Freud.

25s.

ROOM AT THE BOTTOM
National Insurance in the Welfare State
Katherine Hood

Two-and-a-half million people living on the Means Test: what has gone wrong?

3s. 6d.

Distributed by Central Books Ltd.
37 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1

LAWRENCE & WISHART

Published by the Communist Party, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2, and printed by Farleigh Press Ltd. (T.U. all depts.) Aldenham, Herts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

We have pleasure in announcing the forthcoming publication, for the first time in the English language, of the complete works of V. I. Lenin. The translation is made from the latest Russian edition, and will appear by arrangement with the Foreign Languages Publishing House of the USSR.

The first two volumes, containing Lenin's writings of the years 1893-95 and 1895-97 (which include such works as *The Market Question*, *What the Friends of the People Are*, and the agitational pamphlet *On Fines*) are published simultaneously in November. The ensuing volumes will appear during the next few years.

The volumes will not necessarily appear in numerical order. During 1961 will appear the volume containing Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*, which have never before been available in English.

In 40 volumes ***7s. 6d. each volume***

MARXIST CLASSICS

MARX: *CAPITAL*

Vol. I: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production 7s. 6d.

Vol. II: The Process of Circulation of Capital 7s. 6d.

Vol. III: Capitalist Production as a Whole 9s. 6d.

MARX and ENGELS: *SELECTED WORKS*

Volumes I and II. **6s. 6d. each**

This two-volume edition includes *The Communist Manifesto; Wage Labour and Capital; Wages, Price and Profit; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific; The Origin of the Family*, etc.

ENGELS: *DIALECTICS OF NATURE*

Engels' posthumous masterpiece on the Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences. 3s. 6d.

ANTI-DÜHRING

Part I deals with Philosophy and Natural Science, Part II with Political Economy, and Part III with Socialism. 5s.

LENIN: *MATERIALISM & EMPIRIO-CRITICISM*

A devastating criticism of idealism in the natural sciences. 4s.

ON BRITAIN

A collection of Lenin's writings on Britain from 1897 to 1922. 6s.

LAWRENCE & WISHART

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Collet's

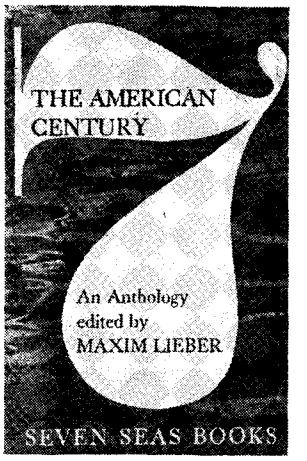
CHRISTMAS 1960 BOOK LIST

The excellent production of these books from U.S.S.R., China and Eastern Europe makes them all especially suitable as gifts. They represent a small part of the unique Christmas stock to be found at Collet's Shops, listed below.

SEVEN SEAS BOOKS

The international series of paperbacks by classical and progressive authors

Jack London: American Rebel by P. S. Foner.	5/-
The American Century. Ed. by N. Lieber.	5/-
Mekong Upstream by W. Burchett.	5/-
The Mirage by F. B. Vickers.	3/6
The Ecstasy of Owen Muir by R. Lardner, Jnr.	3/6
Maggie: A Girl of the Streets by K. Wirzberger.	3/6
A Season of Fear by C. Polonsky.	3/6
Transvaal Episode by H. Bloom.	3/6
China, All About it by N. Freehill.	3/6
Some Love, Some Hunger by Millen Brand.	3/6
Snobs and Other Characters by W. M. Thackeray.	2/6
Ghost Ghouls and Other Nuisances. Ed. by M. Lieber.	2/6
A Dream of John Ball by William Morris.	2/6
A Bit of Blood and Other Stories by Arnold Zweig.	2/6



CHINA KNOWLEDGE

Each volume, by a leading Chinese scholar, deals exhaustively with an important aspect of the country's life.

An Outline History of China	470 pp.	10/6
A Short History of Classical Chinese Literature	134 pp.	5/-
A Short History of Modern Chinese Literature	300 pp.	7/6
A Short History of Chinese Philosophy	150 pp.	6/-
A History of Modern Chinese Revolution	640 pp.	15/-
A Brief History of Chinese Fiction	600 pp.	12/6

★*All 7½"×5½" half cloth.*

NOVELS

The Same Old Story by Goncharov.	439 pp.	7/6
Mother by Gorky.	415 pp.	8/-
A Hero of Our Time by Lermontov.	174 pp.	6/6
Three Short Novels by Turgenev.	304 pp.	5/6

MUSIC

The Twilight of F. Liszt. A new interpretation that will fascinate every lover of Liszt's music. by B. Szabolcsi. 134 pp. **13/6**

The Technique of Piano Playing by Joszef Gat, Hungary's leading piano teacher, "*Indispensable guide*"—*Musical Opinion* 228 pp. **27/6**

COOKERY

Fifty Chinese Recipes.	77 pp.	4/-
Hungarian Cuisine.	376 pp.	20/-

PLACE YOUR ORDER NOW

45 MUSEUM ST., LONDON, W.C.1
64 CHARING CROSS RD., LONDON, W.C.2
193 HAVERSTOCK HILL, N.W.3
62 CARR LANE, HULL

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED